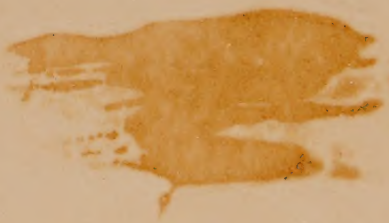
THE ART OF PREACHING IN THE LIGHT OF ITS HISTORY

EDWIN CHARLES DARGAN



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EDWIN CHARLES DARGAN

The Holland Lectures Given at the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary in Texas, October, 1921.

THE ART OF PREACHING IN THE LIGHT OF ITS HISTORY

BY

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John Newp

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THE ART OF PREACHING
IN THE LIGHT OF ITS HISTORY. II

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JAMES BRUTON GAMBRELL

FRIEND, SAGE, LEADER

PREFACE

Most of the material in these lectures was gathered during a service of fifteen years in teaching Homiletics in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary and in the writing of a History of Preaching. Nearly all of the first four lectures and a great deal of the fifth appeared in a series of articles in the *Review and Expositor* (Louisville, Ky.) during the year 1908. Thanks are due and hereby rendered to the managers of that magazine for their kind permission to use the material in this form.

The lectures were given on the Holland Foundation at the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary near Ft. Worth, Texas, October 25-28, 1921. In the delivery there were necessarily some condensations and omissions for the sake of brevity, and some verbal changes here and there in order to make the lecture more acceptable to a popular audience.

The author greatly valued the privilege of addressing a fine body of young ministers, together with other listeners, in a series of addresses upon the great work of the ministry as unfolded in the story of homiletical teaching. He trusts that others who are interested in the work of preach-

ing may find some help and profit in the use of this volume. It is sent forth with the prayer that it may be a help to many whose glorious privilege and exalted duty it is to preach Christ and him crucified.

E. C. D.

Nashville, Tennessee.

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THE ART OF PREACHING IN THE LIGHT OF ITS HISTORY

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LECTURE I

BIBLICAL AND CLASSICAL BASES OF PREACHING AS AN ART

When your honored President gave me the invitation on behalf of the Faculty of this Seminary to deliver a course of lectures on the Holland foundation my first feeling was that of gratification at receiving this honor and opportunity. My second thought was what theme should be chosen for a series of addresses intended mainly for preachers and those who are deeply interested in preaching. Since many years of my life were given to the study and teaching both of the theory and the history of preaching it was not hard for me to believe that I might hope to bring to you something of interest and profit in a brief historic survey of the main features of the art or theory of preaching as it has been taught and practiced in the course of the Christian centuries. We have come,

after an easily understood analogy, to call the subject Homiletics, and to provide for the teaching of it in our seminaries for the training of preachers.

Homiletics needs and deserves a new appraisement. It is worthy of a more scientific study and treatment than it usually finds among those who teach and learn it, and it is entitled to far more respectful consideration than it ever has received from thinkers in the wider ranges of general science. The importance of preaching in history and in existing social conditions would seem to justify, if not demand, a better attitude toward the theory of preaching. Whether regarded merely as an accepted discipline of the theological schools, or more justly as a body of long and carefully tested principles for guidance in the performance of a great social task, homiletical theory has a claim to scientific recognition and treatment.

Along with the other Christian institutions, preaching has a notable history as one of the great forces which have made for human culture. If there is a history of art, of science, of philosophy, of literature, of music, of worship, of doctrine, of hermeneutics, of criticism, is there not also a history of preaching and of its theory? And are not these histories worth research and record? As in other great departments of knowledge a double process of development may be traced; that of action and that of thought—practice and theory. All along they have reacted on each other; practice has developed theory and theory has in turn

guided and improved—yes, sometimes refined and weakened—practice. The question is, Is preaching an art? If our notion of art is hopelessly vitiated by thoughts of unreality and mere artifice, we ought not to think of preaching as an art. But if we have the proper conception of art we need not fear the term. If any sustained action and product of the human mind and body working together to effect impression through expression may be called an art, preaching certainly falls under that definition. This is the practical side. Then is Homiletics an art? That which teaches how an art may be learned and practiced may itself be called an art. This is the theoretical side. The total concept of an art then lies in the cooperation of theory and practice to the end of expression in a product which shall in its turn produce impression. Art is social or nothing. An observer or observers must be either real or imagined. Even the pseudo-critical phrase, "art for art's sake," carries this implication, for it supposes an uncritical or undeveloped taste which must be cultivated; and this, of course, necessitates those in whom the faulty taste resides. Now the sense-appeal of art is almost exclusively to eye and ear; at least the other senses may be left out of account, as they must in all cases be either substitutes or auxiliaries. But it is evident that the primary and simple appeal of art to sight and hearing is enlarged, complicated and enforced by combination and derivation. All public speak-

ing, oratory in general, is accordingly a complicated and highly developed art.

Taking up the group of arts to which preaching and its theory belong, we have no difficulty in relating them directly to oratory, and more generally to the language arts. Now the language arts may be distinguished, according to the mode of expression, as oral and literary. Whoever seeks to express himself in language so as to produce impression must do so either through signs and characters which appeal to the eye (written or printed words) or through sounds and modulations which appeal to the ear (sung or spoken words) or by some combination of these modes of expression, as where written or printed words may be spoken or sung, or words that have been spoken or sung may afterwards be written or printed and read silently. It is easy then to define the place of preaching among the language arts; if there is written preparation for it, or if there is written or printed reproduction of it, a place may be given to it among the literary arts; but if, as its nature requires, we have in mind chiefly public verbal expression for the sake of impression, then preaching is one branch of the art of oratory. But it is more than this. Its other connections and aims forbid that it should be so simply and narrowly defined. It is an established institution of the Christian religion; as such it is a function of worship; it is a means of public instruction in religion and morals; it is

a great and worthy social occupation to which some of the best intellects and characters in human history have been devoted; it is, in the preparation required for its best exercise and in its actual performance, an individual function possessing both interest and merit. What is here said is presented from the practical side, but the theoretical side is necessarily involved, for the teaching of the art and the principles back of the teaching are wrapped up in the practice.

The historic development of a theory or art of preaching arose and proceeded from a combined Biblical and classical (Graeco-Roman) initiative. The Bible furnished the motive, content and inspiration of Christian preaching, while the classic (Graeco-Roman) oratory (practice) and rhetoric (theory) supplied forms and rules for public discourse. We are therefore helped to a better understanding of the historic unfolding of Homiletics by a survey of the Biblical and classical impulses from which that development started.

The Biblical Impulse

We are ready to ask then, Do we find any traces of rhetorical, or homiletical, theory in the Scriptures? Preaching there is, and of the noblest sort; but along with the practice is there anything which may fairly be called theory or art? If this means any set of definite rules for the composing and delivering of religious discourses we of course must answer in the negative; but if it implies

that certain principles to guide in the practice of preaching may be found in the Bible, we shall have to say that at least hints and suggestions are given in both the Old and the New Testaments.

As to the Old Testament, granting that the prophets represent the proclamatory and the scribes the didactic, and both classes the hortatory, elements of preaching as a practice, are there any indications of a corresponding theory of religious discourse? Were there any accepted canons and any definite instruction as to the manner of giving religious discourses? It must be confessed that the data for forming an opinion on this point are somewhat scanty; but they are not wholly wanting. A slight indication is given in the provision for general education among the Hebrews. Three stages are recognized in the progress of Hebrew education: (1) the early period when home was the place and parents the teachers; (2) a later period, after the exile, when to the preceding there were added the scribes and the synagogue; (3) the last period, that of the rabbis and their schools. In all these it was incumbent on the learners to read and copy and repeat passages of the Scriptures. In the later times the public reading and exposition of Scripture seem to presuppose at least some instruction for the better performance of the duty. In all periods we know that careful attention was paid to the very words of the sacred text.

There is a more definite indication in the literature of the Old Testament. Its general character, especially in the prophetic writings, gives evidence of more or less of training in the art of expression, both oral and literary. There is unmistakable indication of care and presumably, therefore, of previous instruction in oratorical composition. Of course natural ability must be presupposed, and the divine call and empowering must not be forgotten; but along with all this one cannot read the remains of Joel, Amos, Micah, Zephaniah, and others of the minor prophets, and still less the immortal utterances of Isaiah and Jeremiah, without feeling sure that these men had studied to good effect the best ways of making their messages impressive to their hearers. They were not only great orators but trained orators. They not only knew, but knew how. The case of Amos is of special interest because in a well-known passage (7:14, 15) he disclaims being a prophet or a son of a prophet. But this disclaimer seems to refer to his occupation prior to his call and authorization rather than to lack of technical preparation for his work. On the contrary Dr. Davidson[1] speaks of Amos as the "oldest literary prophet," and as having "the prophetic mannerism and technique." In the books of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes there are a few striking traces of rhetorical care, implying at least some rhetorical culture. Wisdom, instruction, and propriety

[1] Hastings' D. B., IV, p. 109.

of speech are noted in Prov. 1:1-4; and in Prov. 25:11 we have a rhetorical principle of perennial importance: "A word fitly spoken is like apples of gold in network of silver." In the classic passage, Eccl. 12:9-12, we find a "preacher," or master of assembly, who was himself "wise" and "taught the people knowledge," who "pondered," "gave ear," "sought out proverbs," sought "acceptable words," or "words of delight"; there is praise of "the words of the wise" which are as "goads," or incitements to action, and as "nails" which hold a structure together; there is mention of "many books" and of "much study," with cautionary advices. Certainly from hints such as these we may infer that in the preparation of men for public duty as religious teachers, attention was duly paid to the study and selection of the language and form of discourse.

Further inference as to the existence of rhetorical instruction among the Hebrews may be drawn from their institutions: the order of Prophets, the order of Scribes, and the Synagogue. The long continued activity of an order of men whose chief duty was public religious speech certainly implies not only a body of traditional principles for the better performance of that duty, but also some instruction in those principles. The fact that so-called "schools of the prophets" are known to have existed adds force to this deduction, but too much force must not be allowed to it. For the term "school," as applied to these communities

or bands of prophets, is not itself found in the accounts of them; and we have no means of knowing how much attention was paid in these guilds or communities to study and disciplinary training for the exercise of the prophetic function. We may not, however, resist the conclusion that there was likely to have been some such instruction; but it would be a violent assumption to discover in the notices of these "sons of the prophets" a description of a modern theological seminary with its course in Homiletics![1] It is not important for our present inquiries to determine the time when the order of scribes arose. We find them well established in New Testament times, and they certainly existed long before then. Their main business was the interpretation and teaching of the law, but this was enlarged to mean the whole body of Scripture. So that theirs was primarily a teaching function. While thus the content of their teaching is the main thing, yet it is reasonable to infer some attention to the form also of their discourses. The hortatory or applicatory part of their teaching—called *haggada*—was really preaching. Prof. Robertson Smith, as quoted in Hastings' Bible Dictionary, says it was "doctrinal and practical admonition, mingled with parable and legend. . . . It was recognized as a rule of faith and life, and embraced doctrinal topics, practical exhortation, embellishments and fabulous developments of Bible narratives." It is

[1] See 1 Sam. 10: 5, 10, 12; 2 Kings 2: 3, 5, 7, 15; 4: 1, 38; 6: 1.

scarcely to be denied that for instruction in this kind of teaching there must have been something more than example, though as to the amount and details of such technical training we are left to conjecture. Yet it is surely not an unreasonable inference, in view of the evidence which has been presented that there was some kind and degree of rhetorical or homiletical instruction among the ancient Hebrews.

Can we find any traces of homiletical teaching in the New Testament? The historic basis of Christian preaching as such, both in its proclamatory and didactic forms, is of course to be found in the work of Jesus and his apostles. They preached both in the synagogues and in the open air, in private houses and other more retired places, as occasion offered or required. The content of their message is also well understood and need not here be considered. Among their teachings did they include any instructions which may fairly be called homiletical? Did Jesus and his apostles teach others *how* as well as *what* to preach?

First, let us inquire whether the teaching of Jesus shows any attention, either in his own practice or in his instructions to others, to rhetorical, or homiletical, principles?[1] Let us waive the curious question of any instruction, general or homiletical, which in his human development our Lord

[1] There is a thorough and able survey of the preaching and methods of Jesus in *The Master Preacher—a Study of the Homiletics of Jesus*, by Albert R. Bond, D.D.

may have received. It is not improbable that he attended the synagogue school at Nazareth; but that he owed much if anything, humanly speaking, to the schools, either as to the contents or the manner of his teaching is exceedingly doubtful. The astonishment produced by his teaching, its marked contrast to that of the scribes, and especially the wondering question (John 7:15), "How knoweth this man letters, having never learned?" —all go to show that the traditional lore and methods of the schools were little or nothing to him. But does his teaching show any care of form and method, as well as of content? Did he have and practice—we ask with all reverence —a homiletical method of his own? In his addresses as we have them there is wealth and variety of what may be called homiletical material. Scripture fills an eminent place, being employed as authority, quoted frequently, often expounded, habitually assumed as revelation, and reverenced as the word of God. Authoritative assertion, based on his glorious consciousness of truth, gave power to his speech and impressed his hearers as one of his most marked qualities. Yet also he frequently used argument with powerful effect, and that both in its direct and indirect forms; his refutative logic was often crushing. And what is to be said of his wonderful illustrations? From the more elaborate parables down to brief mention and passing allusion there was mastery of this method of preaching. His application of

truth to his hearers, both individual and general, is thorough, appropriate; often final. Thus in the Master's own practice we find the indispensable and perennial homiletical categories of Scripture, Experience, Argument, Illustration, all used with marvelous skill to the crown of them all; Application.

But what of order and language, or in rhetorical phrase, Arrangement and Style? While we discover no prominence of logical order or distinctly marked analysis in the recorded discourses of Jesus, there is yet in most of the longer ones an evident order and progress of thought, showing that he was not indifferent to this element of power in public discourse. The fadeless charm of his language scarcely needs comment; at times sweet simplicity, then suggestive obscurity, poetic grace, logical strength, fitness to thought and occasion, moving eloquence—all were at his command. We do not find in our Lord's sayings or teachings any definite instructions which could be called homiletical; but his own example of careful speech, his remarks (Matt. 12:36, 37) about the value of words, his teachings on many other points of detail in regard to hearing and preaching, his instructions in regard to prayer, and the general command to preach, may be taken as giving some hint at least that in his unrecorded teachings he may have sometimes touched upon matters regarding the forms and methods of presenting truth. It may be worth while to remark that the

language of Matt. 10:19, 20, cannot be interpreted as forbidding preparation for preaching; for it distinctly refers to over-anxiety on the part of the disciples in regard to their defense when they should be brought before rulers for the gospel's sake. (See also Luke 12:11, 12; 21:15.)

In the Acts and Epistles there are some data from which we may infer at least a measure of attention to homiletical theory. The reported addresses of Peter in the early chapters of Acts show excellent homiletical skill. The narrative manner of Stephen's speech (Acts 7) suggests the synagogue method, as does also that of Paul in Pisidian Antioch (Acts 13). There is clear evidence in Paul's addresses of rhetorical training, both Jewish and classical. The short report (which most probably was given by himself) of the notable address on the Areopagus at Athens reveals not only a rare degree of oratorical skill, but the sure traits of culture. And the same may be said of the defense before Festus and Agrippa. In 1 Cor. 1:17; 2:1-5, 13, we have the passages in which Paul depreciates as a medium of communicating the gospel "the words which man's wisdom teacheth," stating that on coming to Corinth he determined to "know nothing among them but Christ and him crucified." These utterances have been unwarrantably pressed in the interest of discrediting proper study, and also in support of the unfounded hypothesis that Paul was conscious of having made a failure at Athens

when he attempted to use oratory in its home, and came to Corinth chastened and determined to discard in the future any attention to rhetoric. All this seems to me utterly wrong. It is far more likely that Paul would have taken his speech at Athens as an illustration of the principle here laid down. For when we remember that the style of popular speaking in that sub-classical age was degenerate and tawdry, bombastic and extravagant, we must see that the noble restraint, the sincere dignity, the faultless style of the Athenian address is as far as possible removed from the prevailing rhetorical fashion. It is good homiletics at any time and place to discard the meretricious aids of false taste and exaggerated conceits, and deliver a plain, chaste, straightforward message. This Paul did and commended.

In the Epistles to Timothy several passages contain excellent homiletical hints, though of course nothing like formal homiletical instruction. Among the qualifications of the bishop (1 Tim. 3:2) is that he shall be "apt to teach," implying skill as well as character and knowledge. In 1 Tim. 4:13-16 Paul urges that Timothy "give attention to the reading, the exhorting, the teaching"; that he should not neglect his gift, that he should "meditate on these things," and that he should "take heed to himself and his teaching." In 1 Tim. 5:17 he speaks of the elders "who labor in discourse and teaching." In 2 Tim. 1:13 he mentions a "form of sound words"—and though

this refers probably to the body of doctrine, yet the phrase is significant. In 2 Tim. 2:2 he exhorts that what Timothy had received he should commit to "faithful men who should be able to teach others also"; in verses 15, 16 he urges that Timothy be diligent to be a good workman, shunning "profane and vain babblings"; and in verse 24 again insists on aptness to teach as an indispensable qualification for the minister. We cannot be wrong in inferring from these hints that a previous and continued training for the preacher's task would, in Paul's view, include attention to the manner as well as the content of his message. And on the whole we may say that while nothing like formal homiletical instruction in the modern sense may be found in the New Testament, yet there are clear indications that the ability to present the truth of God effectively in human speech is both exemplified and enjoined by the highest authority. And this surely is the essence and justification of homiletical theory.

We come now to see how to some extent parallel with this Biblical teaching there grew up, especially among the ancient Greeks and Romans, a highly developed rhetoric, or theory of public speaking which joined with the Biblical principles to produce in time a theory of preaching, or art of Christian discourse.

The Classical Impulse

The splendid oratory of the Greek and Roman

peoples during the flourishing periods of their history is too well known to need more than passing reference. Along with the practice a theory was also developed, and the Graeco-Roman rhetoric has been a rich storehouse of principles for all subsequent times. Indeed, there has been little of real value or original thought added to the ancient treatises. What has followed has been mostly in the way of necessary development and of adaptation to later times, languages and conditions. The Greek theory of oratory received its most scientific and enduring expression in Aristotle's work on Rhetoric. Aristotle died in 322 B. C. The Roman rhetoric found its best and completest treatment in the works of Cicero and Quintilian, the former of whom died B. C. 43, and the latter about A. D. 120, possibly earlier. The Roman rhetoric was very largely dependent on the Greek —as was the case in other departments of literature—though Quintilian's work is a far more finished and complete performance than Aristotle's. We thus see that at the time when the ancient rhetoric came in contact with the post-biblical preaching the theory of public speaking had reached a high state of development and needed only adaptation to Christian discourse. And homiletical theory, both in its origin and in its development, *is* the application of accepted principles of public speaking to the particular ends and demands of the Christian gospel. Our business now

is to trace briefly the rise and perfecting of this ancient classical rhetoric up to its impact upon the even more ancient though partly parallel development of Biblical prophecy, preaching and hermeneutics.

The origin of the Greek people and their language cannot be traced, but their history and literature reveal them as a speaking people. In the Homeric poems the heroes are orators as well as warriors. Herodotus and Thucydides, as well as other historians, make record of speeches, and even report or invent them. Thucydides devotes especial attention to the noble oratory of Pericles. The drama also indicates the sway which oratory held in the popular esteem and customs. Lastly, oratory itself extended from practice into literature and theory. Published orations and treatises on the art of speaking are the latest development of Greek letters. Grote accounts for this oratorical element of Grecian culture as lying in the genius and language of the Hellenic peoples, in their love of liberty and their forms of government, in the parallel and sympathetic development among them of philosophy and art, in their popular assemblies, and especially in the nature of their law courts and systems of pleading. Jebb points out two forces in the origin and development of technical studies of oratory: (1) The impulse given to Greek thought and culture by the dialectic philosophy of the Ionian schools; and (2) the technical rhetoric of the Sicilian teachers.

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Neither of these movements originated at Athens, but both found early lodgment and careful attention in the chief seat of Hellenic culture. The dialectic impulse came chiefly from Protagoras (who taught how to make the weaker cause appear the stronger), Prodicus (who taught how to distinguish synonyms), and Empedocles, the philosopher-poet of Sicily. The strictly rhetorical impulse came from Gorgias (a pupil of Empedocles), Korax, and Tisias (a pupil of Korax), all of Sicily. Grote was inclined to recognize Empedocles and Gorgias as the beginners of properly rhetorical instruction among the Greeks, but Jebb, with apparently better reason, considers Korax of Syracuse (B. C. 466) as the founder and father of Greek rhetoric, so far as that distinction may be given to any one man. At any rate it was he that published the first treatise which professed to give rules for the art of public speaking.

In B. C. 466, Thrasybulus, tyrant of Syracuse, was overthrown and a democracy established. By him and his predecessors much land had been from time to time confiscated and bestowed on different ones, so that on the fall of the tyrant numerous claimants for these lands arose, and there was great confusion as to titles. The causes had to be tried before the popular courts, and the claimants were required to present their arguments in person. Many were timid and unskilled in speaking. So Korax drew up a system of rules and taught the pleaders how to present their claims.

Cope, in his *Introduction to Aristotle's Rhetoric* (p. 28), speaks very slightingly of this famous treatise, saying that it was occupied wholly with the argument from probability which was nothing more nor less than to make the worse appear the better reason, "in other words, to subvert truth and justice." I have never seen the treatise nor any analysis of it and cannot therefore uphold or dispute the fairness of Cope's criticism; but it seems a little one-sided and severe though no doubt well founded. Tisias was a pupil of Korax and carried on the work of his master. Gorgias, a contemporary of these and a pupil of Empedocles, came to Athens on a political errand and so captivated the Athenians by his florid style of eloquence that he was (no doubt easily!) induced to remain and become a teacher of the art of speaking. After him the orator Antiphon combined theory and practice by being both a pleader in the courts and an instructor of others. Lysias, as is well known, wrote speeches for his clients; and Isaeus, the teacher of Demosthenes, did likewise, besides giving instruction in oratory.

The method of these earliest teachers has perpetuated itself. There was study of treatises, like that of Korax, which was speedily followed by many others; there was lecture or conversational discussion with the pupils; there was critical study, under the teacher's guidance, both of the poets and orators; and there were models furnished by the teacher, and exercises submitted by

the pupils. Thus, as often, are we reminded of the famous saying of Sydney Smith, that "the ancients have stolen all of our best ideas."

Greek oratory and rhetoric—practice and theory—came to their culmination in the same age; the one in Demosthenes and the other in Aristotle, both of whom died in the year 322 B. C. The immortal treatise of Aristotle was the fruit of his reflections and teachings during the years of his great career as a teacher at Athens of all the elements of knowledge current in his day. The limits of this lecture forbid any study of this marvelous man and his many-sided and lasting influence upon thought and culture. We have here in view only his rhetorical theory. Quintilian somewhere states that Aristotle was accustomed to talk on rhetoric with his pupils as he walked, on the covered ways (*peripatoi,* hence Peripatetic) of his famous Lyceum, in the afternoons. We might infer from the wretched style and arrangement in which the great treatise reaches us that post-prandial dullness and jog-trot conversation both figured somewhat in its preparation. Perhaps it is more charitable to assume that the work was not written by Aristotle at all, but is only the conglomerate notes of his pupils—and taken in afternoon walks! At any rate some sort of apology is due to posterity for the form in which this most interesting and valuable production has come down to us. A brief synopsis of its contents is all that can be here presented.

After preliminary definitions and explanations the three main topics treated as essential to rhetorical theory are Arguments (πίστεις), Diction (λέξις), and Order (τάξις); and it might be assumed that the treatment would adhere to this lucid and comprehensive division, but it does so only in a general way. There are three books and the outline of them is this:

Book I. The Nature of Oratory and Rhetoric. (Aristotle himself gives no such indication of his matter. This heading is inferred from the contents.) In chapters 1-3 there are introductory definitions and explanations:—The relation of logic to rhetoric is stated, the utility of rhetoric defended, and rhetoric is defined as "the faculty of considering in any subject that which will induce belief." It is the art of persuasion and therefore deals mostly with argument. Arguments are classified as (1) Technical (those which lie in the scope of rhetoric itself, *i. e.*, may be produced or discovered by the speaker); and (2) Untechnical (those which lie outside of the speaker's mind, external, legal, documentary, etc.). The Technical or Rhetorical Arguments are further explained as being derived (1) from the character of the speaker, (2) from the disposition of the hearer, and (3) from the speech itself—*i. e.*, the form its argument takes, whether (a) enthymeme (rhetorical deduction) or (b) example (rhetorical induction). The three kinds of oratory are then distinguished: (1) Deliberative (political, legisla-

tive); (2) Epideictic (no good English equivalent; show oratory, declamatory, platform, belonging to some occasion, memorial, invective, etc., in other words "the big speech"); (3) Judicial, or Forensic (pertaining to law courts). In chapters 4-15 there follows a more detailed discussion of these, with suggestion of the topics appropriate to each. As an appendix to the treatment of judicial oratory Aristotle mentions and dismisses the untechnical arguments, such as testimony, oaths, deeds, etc.

Book II. Discussion of the Technical Arguments—*πίστεις*. The threefold distinction is reduced to two by merging the first two (those relating to speaker and hearer) into one, which are called *ethical* arguments, and are treated at length in chapters 1-18. In this section (2-11) there is an acute discussion of the feelings and how they are to be reached, such as anger and placability, love and hatred, confidence and fear, benevolence, pity, etc. Varieties of character and condition (age and fortune) are also brought under penetrating review, and the way to deal with them. Then the *logical* arguments, *i. e.*, those inhering in the speech itself, are taken up and discussed in chapters 19-26. First he briefly notices the common topics (c. 19), *i. e.*, those belonging to all kinds of oratory, such as possibility, fact (past or future), and degree. Then there is a strong study of the rhetorical induction and deduction (example and enthymeme). Of the latter there is an ill-

arranged enumeration of twenty-eight varieties. Then comes a discussion of fallacies and of refutation.

Book III. Diction (Style, λέξις) and Order (Arrangement, τάξις).

By way of preliminary in chapter 1 the threefold division into argument, style and arrangement is noted. Then the matter of delivery and voice is taken up. The subject is dismissed in a very brief but luminous and suggestive way. Then follows a disjointed and repetitious discussion of diction or style. It is full of good things, but does not readily lend itself to brief analysis, and to enumerate all the points would take too much space. Such matters as faults of diction and construction, use of words, figures of speech, purity, dignity, rhythm, etc., are presented with sense and spirit. The four chief "virtues" of style are held to be: clearness, fitness, impressiveness, and beauty. Lastly and briefly, chapters 13-19, arrangement is considered. The necessary parts of a speech are only two: Proposition and Proof; but Introduction and Conclusion may be added, making four. The Introduction may be derived from the speaker, the subject (or occasion), the audience, or the opponent. The Statement, or Narration varies according to the kind of oratory—Epideictic, Forensic, or Deliberative. The Proof may be either direct (arguments appropriate to the kind of oratory again) or indirect, as interrogation, reply, ridicule. The Conclusion has one or

more of four aims: (1) To incline the hearer favorably; (2) To amplify or diminish for effect; (3) To appeal to feeling; or (4) To recall the line of thought.

It is a remarkable fact that this, the most suggestive and scientific treatise on rhetoric which appeared in ancient times, and almost in any time, came not from a professional rhetorician nor from an orator, but from a great all-round philosopher who was chiefly intent on other subjects but took this in as an important element of his teaching. This goes far to explain both the merits and the glaring defects of the work. It is easy to criticize its faulty arrangement, its inadequate definition, its dry and difficult style, its vexatious obscurities, and many other details here and there. But on the whole criticism is lost in admiration when we consider the ample knowledge, the wealth of illustration, the penetrating judgment and discrimination, the broad and firm grasp of fundamental and universal principles, the depth and acuteness of thought, and the exhaustiveness of suggestion displayed in this brief and vigorous treatise. How much Aristotle may have owed to his predecessors we may not say, but probably not much; for he commonly speaks very slightingly of other works. As it stands Aristotle's *Rhetoric* is the supreme achievement of the Hellenic mind on the subject of which it treats. Besides the *Rhetoric* Aristotle wrote a less valuable work, to which he sometimes refers—the *Topics,* or helps to invention.

In the early Roman times there was a developing native oratory, but the later influence of the Greek practice and theory gave both to speaking and writing a Grecian method and bent. The lack of originality in the Latin literary product is notorious. Yet there was some slight theoretical instruction in public speaking in the early republican days of Rome. The Senate and Forum taught by example. Cato the Censor spoke contemptuously of rhetorical studies, and Crassus (himself an orator) when consul warned the people against the encroachment of Greek studies in this art. But Crassus had himself studied the Greek rhetoric, and Cato in spite of his growling had drawn up a set of rules for speaking derived mainly from his studies in Greek literature. One of his short rules is worth remembering: *Rem tene, verba sequentur.* About B. C. 100 formal instruction in both Greek and Latin literature and rhetoric is said to have begun at Rome. Mommsen (Vol. III., p. 565) mentions an ancient Latin treatise on rhetoric dating from the time of Sulla as being "remarkable not merely for its close, clear and firm handling of the subject, but above all for its comparative independence as respects Greek models." Julius Caesar wrote a treatise on the art of speaking correctly, and dedicated it to Cicero—a fact which the orator mentions with pride (*Brutus,* chap. lxxii), and proceeds to say that Caesar "laid it down as an axiom that an accurate choice of words is the foundation of eloquence." Cicero's

own rhetorical works are well known—the treatise on *Invention* (derived almost entirely from Aristotle's *Topics* and claiming no originality), the famous dialogue on the *Orator,* and the *Brutus,* or dialogue on the *Celebrated Orators.* These were not manuals of instruction, but literary treatises, very pleasant reading and giving careful discussion from many points of view of the accepted principles of oratory traditional and prevalent in Cicero's time.

But the great Latin treatise on rhetoric is the truly admirable and exhaustive work of Quintilian, the *Education of an Orator,* or, as sometimes called, the *Institutes of Oratory.* In passing from Aristotle to Quintilian we make a great leap: in time it is nearly four hundred years; in culture it is from the Greek at its culmination to the Roman in its early decline; in men it is from a great all-round thinker and genius to a cultivated specialist of excellent talent but no great depth of thought; in works it is from the original and suggestive but incomplete and unpolished production of a master mind chiefly intent and notably great in other departments, to the highly elaborated single achievement of a sound judgment and well-read intelligence directed through a long life to this one task. Little is known of the life of Quintilian. Born, it seems, in Spain he came to Rome in the brief reign of the emperor Galba, and remained there a teacher of rhetoric all his long life, dying probably in A. D. 118, or thereabout. He was highly es-

teemed both in character and as a highly successful teacher. He was one of the first of those who received at Vespasian's order a salary from the public revenues of the city; and Domitian committed to him the education of his great-nephews, presumably heirs to the purple. By the same emperor he was invested with the insignia of the consulship—an event which is thought to have occasioned Juvenal's sneer: *Si fortuna volet fies de rhetore consul.* Quintilian was incidentally a pleader in the courts, but with all his heart a teacher of oratory. And the practice and teaching of a lifetime are condensed in his famous book.

This elaborate and satisfying production is wrought out in twelve books. It was actually written in about two years, though the studies, labors and reflections of many years lay back of its publication. It covers a wide range—as the course of education was in that age chiefly rhetorical—discussing many subjects which would now be classed in other departments of culture. It is complete in topics, thorough and discriminating in treatment, and attractive in style. The first book treats of the primary education of youth preparatory to oratorical training; the second book discusses the nature and principles of rhetoric; from the third to the seventh inclusive, the topics of invention and arrangement are considered; from the eighth to the eleventh, style and delivery are handled; and in the twelfth there is discussion of some important practical matters such

as the orator's morals, principles, choice of work, retirement, etc. The work has always been recognized by competent judges as a masterpiece. It has, of course, greatly colored and influenced all subsequent teaching and treatment of rhetoric. It is far superior to Aristotle's work as a manual, as well as in the completeness and orderliness of its treatment, though falling below in originality and power of thought. The two treatises taken together represent the consummation of the Graeco-Roman rhetoric.

A word must be said in regard to the place of rhetoric in the ancient systems of education. It was a leading place. The so-called Seven Liberal Arts, as later developed and correlated, were: Grammar, Dialectic (Logic), Rhetoric—the *Trivium;* and Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy, and Music—the *Quadrivium.* The post of honor belonged to the first three; and as both grammar and logic were closely connected with rhetoric, they were considered as necessary parts of the instruction of the orator. For teaching rhetoric, with grammar (or literature) and dialectic, teachers and schools abounded in all the ages of the Graeco-Roman education. During the first five centuries of the Christian era rhetoric—in the larger sense, including literature—held the chief place in school education. Vespasian is reported by Suetonius to have ordered that the salaries of teachers at Rome should be paid out of the municipal treasury, and this is held to be the beginning of state

education. But Julius Caesar is said to have had a similar scheme in mind; and he actually did establish schools in Gaul. After Vespasian various emperors added to the dignities and emoluments of teachers, in some cases making their salaries a charge upon the municipal revenues of the chief provincial cities. Marcus Aurelius endowed chairs of rhetorical instruction at Athens. In A. D. 425 Theodosius II established a grand imperial school at Constantinople, directly under state control and supported by the government. It had thirty-one professors, most of whom taught rhetoric and the related subjects. Thus at the time when Christianity ceased to be persecuted and became a care of government, a great system of education in which the theory of speaking was a central, and perhaps the leading, element, had come to be thoroughly wrought out and established. Not only was education in this way chiefly rhetorical in tone, but a fondness for popular eloquence had also been developed and maintained, and in some sort a critical (though often vitiated) taste had been cultivated. It was into a society thus educated and trained that the longer, though part of the time parallel, stream of Biblical prophecy and preaching poured its new volume of power. And thus the preaching and homiletics of patristic and mediaeval times received their classic impulse.

LECTURE II

THE ORIGIN AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF AN ART OR THEORY OF PREACHING

A. D. 100-600

The period covered in this lecture is that generally known as the Patristic Age, or the Period of the Fathers. It extends from the beginning of the second century to the close of the sixth. Writers differ as to the exact limits, but those adopted here are convenient for our purposes. The end of the New Testament canon with the first century, and the pontificate of Pope Gregory I, bishop of Rome (590-604), give suitable turning points for the study of our subject. For a reason which will soon appear the latter part of the period is particularly important for us, and so it will be convenient to divide it into an earlier and a later epoch, the first extending from 100 to 400, and the second from 400 to 600. During the first of these epochs there was, especially among the Greek preachers, considerable practice of rhetorical art in discourse, but it was not until the publication of Augustine's epoch-making little book *On Christian Teaching (Doctrina Christiana)* in 397 and 426 that a definite theory of preaching was formulated and published. That work, of which the

fourth book was published in 426, has the distinct honor of being the first treatise on the art or theory of preaching. In the meantime the exposition of Scripture as a part of Christian worship, which followed the close of the New Testament canon, began to be influenced more and more by rhetorical teaching and practice, as we shall now see by a survey of conditions prevalent during the second, third and fourth centuries.

The Earlier Developments, A. D. 100-400

Within this important and fruitful epoch the two lines of development which we have already traced worked together side by side to produce a real theory of preaching at its end. The old illustration of two streams coming together is apposite here. After the junction each in a measure keeps its place till at last there is fusion. The classical rhetoric and the Biblical principles of preaching for a time flowed parallel in the same channel and finally mingled. The dominance of rhetoric in the school education of the time must ever be borne in mind. This had a double effect on homiletical theory: (1) It secured to the educated by actual culture, and to the uneducated by imitation and custom, the application of the common principles of rhetoric to preaching. An educated man entering the Christian ministry in that age could be safely assumed to know how to construct and deliver a discourse. We know that this

was true of the great preachers; and what was the case with them was true of others to some degree. (2) But on the other hand the exaggeration, bombast, unreality, and sophistry which marked and marred the oratory and rhetoric of the age put many of the Fathers into a critical and cautionary attitude toward the rhetorical teaching then current. We have seen already that Paul probably alludes to these perversions in his remarks to the Corinthians about the "persuasive words of man's wisdom." We find a good deal of this caution in the allusions of the Fathers, and it was far from unnecessary. So that the attitude of the Christian teacher toward current rhetorical theory as applied to preaching was eminently a corrective one. Theory did not so much need to be learned as chastened and applied to Christian uses.

In regard to the working out of Biblical principles of public speech in the practice and teaching of the Fathers there are four matters of importance to be remembered: (1) The influence of the noble content of the gospel message and the Bible morality upon those who would set them before others must not be forgotten. This was a note which ancient oratory and the teaching of it never had. (2) More particularly the actual use of the prophets and apostles as models of effective religious speech, especially as they were regarded as immediately inspired of God, must not be overlooked. (3) But along with these considerations a most powerful influence in shaping homiletical

theory was the very nature of preaching itself, as being primarily an interpretation and application of Scripture. As oral tradition declined and the canon of Scripture was formed and closed, and as the body of disciples grew and became diversified, the preaching became more and more an exposition and turning of Scripture to the spiritual and moral profit of the hearers. Thus arose the "homily," or talk, and the basis of it was a careful interpretation of the Bible. And so in all the after history of preaching and its theory the relation of Homiletics to Hermeneutics has been close and vital. (4) Nor must we forget that along with the authority of the word that of the teacher was an important matter. Paul had already recognized this, and with the development of the episcopate in the patristic age the appointment and authorization of the presbyters as teachers and preachers become highly important. This tended to increase the dignity of the preacher and render more needful his attention to the form of his discourses. And with this the leadership and care of the congregation had influence in determining the theory of pastoral duty in general and hence of preaching also. In the writings of even such great preachers as Gregory, Chrysostom and Ambrose pastoral care receives more attention than homiletical theory.

The writings of the Apostolic Fathers, so far as I have noticed, do not contain anything of value as to the progress of a theory of preaching. The

discussion of teachers and prophets in the *Didache* says nothing on the point; and the *Ancient Homily,* formerly known as the *Second Epistle of Clement,* is not a production of special merit as a sermon, nor does it mention or suggest anything of force as to rhetorical training. With the rise of the Apologists in the second century we come upon evidences of a more liberal culture in the Christian writers, and this naturally carried with it more attention to rhetoric. Tertullian—who on some accounts may be classed with the Apologists —was trained as a rhetorician and lawyer, and his writings show the influence of his training as well as the natural traits of the orator. It is not, however, till we come to Origen in the third century that we can feel at all sure-footed in dealing with our subject. In the preaching, teaching and enduring influence of that great scholar and teacher we begin to discover more distinct traces of a real art of preaching, and of instruction in its principles. There is no formal treatise on preaching among his works; but scholars have collected passages from his writings which enable us to present his homiletical teachings in a somewhat orderly way.[1]

Origen's example and teachings encouraged a higher appreciation of the homily as a studied discourse. Before his time it had been only a loosely

[1] Paniel, *Geschichte der Christlichen Beredsamkeit*, SS. 138-149; 153-157; 166-170. Nebe, *Zur Geschichte der Predigt*, I, SS. 1-40. Broadus, *Lectures on the History of Preaching*, p. 51ff.

connected string of comments on the passage of Scripture selected. Nor does it in fact become much more than that in his hands; yet there is progress both in preparation and in form. But he is careful to warn against the abuse of rhetoric. He compares the prevalent rhetoric, dialectic and grammar to the leaven of the Pharisees, which the disciple of Christ should avoid, yet says: "But a lucid discourse, the splendor of eloquence, and the art of arguing are with propriety admitted to the service of the word of God." Thus we see that it was the abuse and not the use of rhetorical principles that he condemned. In this connection it is to be remembered that Origen insists upon the preacher's character as essential. Indeed both Aristotle and Quintilian urge with all emphasis that the orator must be a good man; and the Christian teacher could surely do no less. The preacher, according to Origen, must not be an artificial and ambitious orator, but a pure and spiritual man, a fit channel and instrument for communicating the word of God to his hearers.

But the main element of Origen's homiletics was hermeneutical. He insists that the preacher must get his message from the word of God; and to this end, of course, study and interpretation are necessary. Origen did not invent but he did elaborate and practice what is known as the allegorical method of interpretation. In his time and in his hands there were three modes of interpreting any given passage of Scripture: (1) the

grammatical and historical, by which the exact meaning of the text was sought and set forth; (2) the moral or hortatory, whereby the ethical doctrine of the text was applied to the hearers; and (3) the allegorical, or spiritual, whereby some mystical or hidden sense beyond the literal meaning and especially suited to minister to the spiritual life was wrought out and applied to the purpose of edification. Later the methods were increased to four by dividing the last into the tropological and the allegorical, or the figurative and the spiritual. The example and teaching of Origen did much to establish the allegorical interpretation as particularly appropriate to preaching, and it is due to him more than to any other individual, perhaps, that this abuse has been so persistent in all preaching since his time. The fathers of the Western Church, notably Ambrose and Augustine, adopted it with enthusiasm and practiced it with amazing ingenuity and power. But we must do Origen the justice to say that his motive in adopting and defending this spiritualizing of Scripture was primarily devotional and practical. He was earnestly intent on making every word of Scripture count to the "deepening of the spiritual life" —to use a modern phrase. And this purpose, in his mind, was of the utmost importance in preaching. Four points, then, will summarize Origen's homiletical theory: (1) The preacher's character must be sound and devout; (2) He must get his message from Scripture by a careful study of all

its possible meaning, literal and figurative; (3) He must faithfully apply this meaning to life; (4) He must take thought for the form and method of his discourse, using but not abusing the accepted principles of the art of public speaking.

In the earlier Latin fathers not much of importance for our study is found. As already remarked, Tertullian was a trained rhetorician, and the gifts of the orator were his also, but nothing is quoted from him—nor have I myself observed anything in such of his writings as I have read—in the way of a theory of preaching. Yet his practice and style were potent. Cyprian was an ardent admirer and follower of Tertullian, and his writings likewise show the training and practice of a rhetorician. In his *Letter to Donatus*[1] Cyprian speaks as follows of the relations of secular and sacred speech: "In the courts, in platform addresses let voluble ambition boast a wealth of eloquence. But when it is speech concerning the Lord God, then pure sincerity of speech rests for persuasives to faith, not upon the powers of eloquence, but upon things (*i. e.*, reality). In fine, use not eloquent but forcible words, not those polished to attract a popular audience by artificial speech, but simple enough to proclaim with plain truth the divine love." Surely this is good enough homiletical theory for any time. Paniel quotes similar language from Arnobius, who among other good things says: "When things far removed

[1] Quoted by Paniel, *op. cit.*, S. 230.

from show are under discussion, *what* may be said is rather to be considered than *how pleasingly* it may be said."

When we come to the Fathers of the fourth century it is necessary to bear constantly in mind two most important considerations: (1) The great prevalence of rhetorical instruction in the schools of the empire; and (2) the toleration and patronage of Christianity by the state. The educational and social advantages thus given to preaching profoundly affected both its practice and its theory. We find toward the middle and end of the fourth century one of the great historic culminations of preaching; and the five most famous pulpit orators of the age were, without exception, rhetorically trained. These were Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Chrysostom, in the East; and Ambrose and Augustine in the West—all of whom enjoyed in marked degree all that the best rhetorical instruction of the times could bestow. So also was it with others.

I have not found in my slight reading of Basil anything at all upon the theory of preaching, but the more exhaustive research of Paniel[1] brings out the following. He speaks in one of his homilies of the necessity of varying the style of discourse according to the subject and audience, and says: "For as a man whose business is war and another who pursues farming do not use the same implements . . . so also the preacher cannot use the

[1] *Op. cit.*, S. 34lf.

same mode of speech when he exhorts to the acceptance of the faith and when he opposes adversaries." In another homily he urges that the discourse should be as concise and pointed as is consistent with clearness, "so as to show many things in few words, and on account of its brevity to be easy for the memory to carry away." These excerpts can only make us wish that we had more of Basil's theory.

There is not much from Gregory Nazianzen, but that little is worth while. In one of his songs (quoted by Paniel) he stoutly takes issue with the notion (its age is no recommendation to it!) that it is more pious to be unprepared so as to give free scope to the Holy Spirit. In one of his homilies also he speaks similarly and says it is better in an assembly to speak and hear five intelligible words than to pour forth an inexhaustible speech like a drum, but without edification. It is evident that this great master of sacred eloquence—no matter what his practice—at least in theory had no great respect for the sky-lark method of preaching—"profuse strains of unpremeditated art." We should look to find some homiletics in Gregory's famous oration at Nazianzus on his return from his retirement to Pontus,[1] in which he discusses with eloquence and power his conception of the pastoral life and work. But it is mostly devoted

[1] Translation in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. VII, p. 204ff.

to the practical and ethical side of the preacher's life, with little that even remotely bears on the theory of preaching. Teaching and preaching are named among the elder's duties, and adequate and studious preparation are insisted on, but character and wisdom rather than rhetoric are the main topics of this eloquent and thoughtful discourse. One sentence at least I must quote, where in speaking long and acutely of the folly of putting unprepared men into the ministry, he says: "And we may rightly, in my opinion, apply to them the saying of Solomon, 'There is an evil which I have seen under the sun, a man wise in his own conceit'; and a still greater evil is it to charge with the instruction of others a man who is not even aware of his own ignorance." Chrysostom, Ambrose, and especially Gregory the Great, were all deeply indebted to this vigorous oration of the Nazianzen for their more elaborate treatises on the Pastoral Office. In his practice of eloquence Gregory was often betrayed into soaring and prolixity. Perhaps his theory was better.

The world-famous preacher, John Chrysostom (347-407) of Antioch and Constantinople, was carefully educated by Libanius, the best teacher of rhetoric of the age. His sermons and homilies, of which a great number remain, give constant evidence both of his native powers and of his excellent training and practice. The three parts of the typical preacher's work are well illustrated in this ancient prince of the pulpit. He was an ad-

mirable pastor, shrewd in his knowledge of human nature and faithful and loving in service of his flock. He was a careful and untiring student, especially of the Bible; his principle of interpretation being that of Antioch rather than of Alexandria; that is, he paid chief attention to the literal and moral teaching of the word, with little or no allegorizing. And to crown it all he was a pulpit orator of the first rank. With him practice is everything, and but little theory is to be found in his works. Scholars have culled from his sermons here and there passages in which he speaks of preaching. These set forth his homiletical principles. The preacher must found his discourse on the word of God, discard ambition for oratorical display and applause, and seek first of all the spiritual edification of his hearers. Over and over again these principles are insisted on. More technically, he says somewhere that an introduction is necessary to a well-ordered discourse, for a number of reasons. And to this his practice agrees; his introductions are usually excellent. More than in the homilies we might expect to find Chrysostom's theory of preaching set forth in his famous and delightful treatise *On the Priesthood;*[1] but he is here chiefly occupied with the pastoral side of the work, and does not say much about preaching. But that little is well worth remembering.

In Book IV., 3, Chrysostom asserts that ability

[1] Translation by B. H. Cowper, London, 1866.

to speak well is necessary for a presbyter, and adduces Paul as an example. In the following chapters he elaborates this and gives illustrations from Paul's writings in support of his argument. In Book V. he urges (c. 1) that to speak well requires much labor and study; (c. 5) that the learned preacher must labor even more than the unlearned; and (c. 7) that he should compose his addresses with a view solely to pleasing God and not man. It is worth quoting what this eminent preacher says as to the need of work: "For since speaking comes not by nature but by learning, although one may attain to perfection in it, he who did not cultivate the faculty with constant zeal and practice would at last turn out destitute of it." That he conscientiously took pains himself is beyond doubt.

We must now mention the great Latin father, Ambrose, the eloquent and celebrated bishop of Milan toward the end of the fourth century. Ambrose had the conventional rhetorical education, and had been trained for the civil service. His practice was formed on that of the Greek preachers of the Alexandrian method of interpretation, and his allegorizing is excessive. I have found little if anything of homiletical value in his writings.[1] In his treatise on the duties of the ministry he owes much (by way of adaptation) to Cicero's *De Officiis,* and much (by way of borrowing) to

[1] Works in Migne, *Patrologia Latina,* tom. 16; and *Post-Nicene Fathers,* Vol. X.

Gregory Nazianzen, but there is nothing of special interest on the theory of preaching. In his *Epistle to Constantius*[1] Ambrose says that a preacher's sermons should be flowing, pure and clear, that by his gentle arguing he may pour sweetness into the ears of the people, and by the graciousness of his language soften down the crowd that they may willingly follow him.

We see then that in the early Fathers there are only scattered hints and traces of a homiletical theory, but that it was forming on the combined principles of the classic rhetoric and of Scripture. It was getting ready to find formal and enduring expression through the great mind of Augustine.

The Later Developments, 400-600

As was pointed out in the preceding discussion we have no definite theory of preaching before Augustine. But in his famous treatise *De Doctrina Christiana* (*On Christian Teaching*)[2] we come at last upon a distinct and worthy effort to formulate the principles of public discourse as these apply to preaching. Both the title and contents of the book show that the author had in mind preaching as the function of teaching the Word of God in a worshiping assembly of Christians, rather than as the proclamation at first hand of the gos-

1 *Patrologia Latina*, tom. 16, col. 918 seq.

2 The Tauchnitz edition of the original. Translation by J. F. Shaw in *Post-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. II. Good studies by Paniel and Nebe in works previously mentioned.

pel to unbelievers. His treatment therefore is a study of the method of interpreting and publicly teaching the Scriptures. We must keep in mind in regard to the author these three things: (1) That he was a carefully trained rhetorician, and had taught rhetoric with success before his conversion to Christianity; (2) That he was a devout and profound thinker and theologian, fully committed to the view that the Christian Scriptures are an authoritative revelation from God; (3) That he was a preacher and prelate of long experience in the pastoral office when he wrote this treatise. Thus his equipment for his task was admirable, and as complete as his times and his personal limitations permitted.

Before taking up in detail the study of this famous treatise, it will be well to remind ourselves of the main features in the life of its great and useful author. Aurelius Augustinus (354-430) was born at Tagaste, Numidia, N. Africa, in the year 354. His father was a Roman citizen of high standing and bore the name Patricius. His mother, Monica, was a devout Christian and one of the great women of history. She made her children the object of her prayers, and also by her devoted Christian life gradually won over her somewhat harsh pagan husband, so that in his later years he also became a Christian. The boy Augustine was carefully educated from childhood and youth. He received the best culture which the schools of the time afforded, and was trained to

become a teacher of rhetoric. That subject then included the study of Latin and Greek literature, as well as the more distinctive rhetorical principles. As a boy Augustine grew up very wild and reckless. His conduct was a great grief to his parents, especially to his patient and lovely Christian mother. In his immortal *Confessions* Augustine describes the sins and excesses of his young manhood, and then tells the beautiful story of his conversion and of his last talk with his mother. He had gone to Milan to teach rhetoric, and was there brought under the influence of the famous bishop Ambrose. While there he was gloriously converted, in 387. He at once devoted himself to Christian work. Soon after his conversion his mother died, happy in the answer to her prayers. Augustine was ordained a presbyter in 391 and settled at Hippo in North Africa. Here he was ordained bishop in 395 and faithfully performed the duties of his office until his death in 430. He was active and diligent as preacher and writer. He was a profound thinker, and has deeply influenced Christian thought for all time. Many writings came from his hand. In describing his early life he speaks of himself somewhere as a "seller of rhetoric," thus somewhat satirizing his profession. But all the same he had well used his studies in philosophy and rhetoric and these contributed much to his success as a preacher, theologian and writer.

The treatise, *On Christian Teaching,* consists of

four books, of which the first three were written in the year 397, the fourth not until 426. The first three are not strictly homiletical, but hermeneutical. They lay down the principles of Biblical interpretation as these were conceived by Augustine. He believes that the first duty of a preacher is to have a clear and correct understanding of the Word of God; but it is also a rhetorical principle of the first importance that a speaker should have something to say! Accordingly in the opening chapter of the first Book he announces his purpose in these words: "There are two things on which all treatment of the Scriptures depends: the method of finding what is to be understood, and the method of setting forth what has been understood. We shall first discuss finding, then setting forth." In the prologue to the fourth Book (published thirty years later) he quotes this language when taking up the second part of his proposed task. Thus the first three Books are devoted to invention, and only the fourth, after a long interval, is given to rhetoric, or homiletics, proper. On this we may remark, first, that it was a well accepted rhetorical theory from Aristotle down that the finding (invention) of material was the main thing, the mode of expression secondary; and in thus giving first and more extended treatment to the materials of discourse Augustine was but carrying out the rhetorical principles in which he had been trained. Secondly, this procedure accorded well with the accepted practice in preach-

ing as it had been developed up to Augustine, namely, making the careful interpretation of Scripture the principal element of discourse.

For our immediate purposes, however, the first part of the treatise *On Christian Teaching* (Books I.-III.) may be omitted, and only the fourth Book need be brought under review. The following brief outline of this justly famous and profoundly influential study of the art of preaching will give some idea of its highly suggestive and useful contents; but neither outline nor translation can be anything but a feeble substitute for the vigorous, terse, interesting original.

In chapter 1 the author says it is not his purpose to "lay down any rules of rhetoric, such as I have learned, and taught, too, in the secular schools. These are useful, but can be learned elsewhere." In chapter 2 he shows that "it is lawful for the Christian teacher to use the art of rhetoric," and says: "Now the art of rhetoric being available for the enforcing of either truth or falsehood, who will dare to say that truth in the person of its defenders is to take its stand unarmed against falsehood? For example, that those who are trying to persuade men of what is false are to know how to introduce their subject so as to put the hearer into a friendly or attentive or teachable frame of mind,[1] while the defenders of truth shall be ignorant of that art? That the

[1] Augustine here states the commonly accepted theory of the Introduction as given by Cicero: *reddere auditores benevolos, attentos, dociles.*

former are to tell their falsehoods briefly, clearly and plausibly, while the latter shall tell the truth in such a way that it is tedious to listen to, hard to understand, and in fine not easy to believe? That the former are to oppose the truth and defend falsehood with sophistical arguments, while the latter shall be unable either to defend what is true or refute what is false? That the former while imbuing the minds of their hearers with erroneous opinions are by their powers of speech to awe, to melt, to enliven and to arouse them, while the latter shall in defense of the truth be sluggish and frigid and somnolent? Who is such a fool as to think this wisdom? Since then the faculty of eloquence is available for both sides, and is of very great service in enforcing either wrong or right, why do not good men study to engage it on the side of truth, when bad men use it to obtain the triumph of wicked and worthless causes, and to further injustice and error?"

In chapter 3, however, Augustine is careful to show that a mastery of rhetorical rules as such is not necessary to good speaking; that we can learn by hearing and following eloquent speakers. A wise caution is given in these words: "Care must be taken indeed lest the things which ought to be said escape from the mind while attention is being given that they be said by art." In chapter 5 he says that wisdom is more valuable than eloquence, but both are needed, and goes on to show in the next chapter how the sacred writers employed

both. As there is an eloquence appropriate to the different ages of men, so there is a species appropriate to men "who justly claim the highest authority and are evidently inspired of God. With this eloquence they spoke; no other would have been suitable to them." Further on this point he beautifully says: "It was as if wisdom were walking forth from its home—the breast of the wise—and eloquence, like an inseparable attendant, follows without being called." In chapters 7-9 he illustrates the combination of inspired eloquence and wisdom in the cases of Amos the prophet and Paul the apostle, acutely and interestingly analyzing and discussing passages from their writings. Of the passage in 2 Corinthians 11:16-30, where Paul speaks of his toils and perils, Augustine says: "The thoughtful and attentive perceive how much wisdom there is in these words; and even a man sound asleep must notice what a stream of eloquence flows through them." He cautions that the preacher must not imitate the obscurities of the sacred writers, which, though proper to them, are not so to us. This leads him in chapter 10 to discuss clearness of style and to say that it must be secured even at the expense of other things if necessary, saying that it is of no use to speak at all if our hearers do not understand us. In chapter 11 he says that a golden key which will not unlock the door is useless, while a wooden one that does is better. Yet as even the food necessary to life requires seasoning for some palates we must

not reject elegance of speech where it is appropriate. In chapters 12 and 13 he develops Cicero's maxim that an eloquent man must so speak as "to teach, to please, to move," showing how the principle applies to the Christian preacher. This is one expression which he gives to the principle: *Oportet igitur eloquentem ecclesiasticum, quando suadet aliquid quod agendum est, non solum docere ut instruat, et delectare ut teneat, verum etiam flectere ut vincat.* This fine saying may be freely rendered thus: "It therefore becomes the eloquent preacher, when he persuades his hearer in regard to something which ought to be done, not only to teach that he may instruct him, and to please that he may hold him, but also to move that he may overcome him." Chapter 14 discusses beauty of diction and cautions against excess of ornament.

In chapters 15 and 16 Augustine wisely and seriously treats of the preacher's necessary dependence upon the Holy Spirit and prayer for any true success in his preaching. Yet he must not neglect a sensible use of proper human helps. In chapters 17-19 another great dictum of Cicero's is handled and applied to preaching. It is the principle of the three different ways of speaking which grow out of the nature of the things to be discussed: *parva submisse, modica temperate, magna granditer,* that is, little things humbly, ordinary things moderately, great things grandly. Then in chapters 20-26 he discusses these three styles—the humble, the moderate, the grand—giv-

ing illustrations from the sacred writers, and also from Cyprian and Ambrose. In one highly entertaining passage (chapter 24) the author relates an incident from his own experience, when under an earnest appeal to a rude people in Mauretania to desist from the bloody feuds to which they had long been addicted they were led with tears to abandon an inveterate custom.

Chapters 27-29 present with force the great truth that whatever be the style of the preacher's speaking his life should enforce what he says; for though truth is truth and will do good even when spoken by evil men, yet the preacher who carefully practices what he preaches is sure to do the most good. So in chapter 30 the great duty of prayer for the divine aid and blessing is suitably once more pressed home. In chapter 31 the author concludes his treatise with an apology for making it longer than he intended, closing with these words: "I give thanks to our God that in these four books, with such little skill as I have been able, I have discussed not such a preacher as I, to whom many things are lacking, could claim to be, but such an one as he ought to be who in sound, that is Christian, teaching is diligent to labor not for himself alone but also for others."

Even so slight a sketch of this notable treatise shows that with a master's hand the great thinker has touched the essentials of the art of preaching for all time. There are three things which stand out preëminently clear in Augustine's teaching:

(1) The essential of a right character in the preacher and a proper conception of his task; (2) The necessity of a correct interpretation of Scripture and its use as the authoritative material in preaching; (3) A sane and skillful employment of accepted rhetorical principles as far as these are available and serviceable to the preacher of the gospel. Relatively to Homiletics the treatise occupies the position of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* toward the art of speaking in general. Details of interpretation (especially the allegorical method) and of rhetorical theory itself are of course open to criticism and dissent, but on the whole this first treatment of homiletical theory remains one of the most important, not only for its historic and literary interest, but for its grasp of fundamental principles, its solidity of thought, its charm of style, its devoutness of aim.

After Augustine there is no treatise on preaching for centuries. Though Gregory the Great (pope from 590 to 604) was a diligent preacher and urged the duty upon others, he added nothing of importance either to the theory or practice of preaching. His justly celebrated *Pastoral Rule*[1] (*Regula Pastoralis*) is a highly interesting and important contribution to the literature of Pastoral Theology, but has little value for Homiletics. The treatise was a great favorite throughout the

[1] The original is found in the Works of Gregory in Migne's *Patrologia Latina;* and there is a very handy edition containing both the original and a translation by H. R. Bramley, Oxford, 1874.

Middle Ages. It was paraphrased by Alfred the Great into Anglo-Saxon and its study enjoined upon the priests. Charlemagne also admired it much and caused several synods to urge the reading of it upon the clergy. The treatise owes much to Gregory Nazianzen and Chrysostom, and something to Ambrose, but has also an independent value. Devoted to a discussion of the duties and character proper to a pastor it gives a few hints here and there on preaching, but no formal discussion. In the introduction and first chapter Gregory insists that only suitable and skilled men should be made pastors. In chapter 7 he discusses with good sense the calls of Isaiah and Jeremiah as well illustrating both the modest reluctance and the courageous obedience which should characterize one who is called to the duty of preaching. Chapter 4 of Part II. opens with the good remark: "Let the pastor be discreet in silence, useful in speech; that he may neither declare what ought to be kept, nor keep what ought to be declared." There is some discussion of how he may be "useful in speech." The Lord rebukes the pastors who will not speak, calling them "dumb dogs that cannot bark." He uses the words of our Lord and of Paul to enforce the duty of preaching; he insists on careful preparation by the preacher, "lest if he is hurried into speaking without due order the hearts of the hearers be hurt with the wound of error." Again, "Often the value of the things said is lost, when it is made light of to the hearts

of the hearers by a careless or unbecoming manner of speech.'' In Part III. Gregory discusses (much after Chrysostom and the Nazianzen) the different kinds of hearers to be addressed, with suggestions as to what is appropriate to each sort. It may be remarked in passing that the ancient and mediæval rhetoric and homiletics both made much more of this topic than is customary in modern treatises. Gregory uses a curious illustration when he says that as the cock strikes himself with his wings before crowing in order to awaken himself and be alert, so the preacher must smite himself before he warns others! Finally in Part IV. he briefly sets forth how the preacher should be duly on his guard not to be puffed up either because of his good life or his good preaching.

Thus even the little that bears on preaching in this famous book is not of special value from the homiletical point of view. In all the patristic period the two most important names for homiletical purposes are those of Origen and Augustine, and only the latter has given a formal treatise.

LECTURE III

INSTRUCTION IN THE ART OF PREACHING DURING THE MIDDLE AGES

600-1500

The long mediæval age from 600 to 1500, or more exactly from the death of Gregory I (604) to the beginning of Luther's Reformation (1517), contained much of interest for the history of preaching, but little that is of value for the theory. It is not until the impulse received from the Revival of Letters and the Reformation is strongly felt and becomes potent that a true theory of preaching is developed and established. Yet we find a few specific works and some general data that bear on the subject of Homiletics, and these have been collected and discussed for different times and countries by several scholars. But I know of no comprehensive historical treatise upon mediæval Homiletics as a whole.

It will help clearness of discussion and comprehension to divide the Middle Ages into three periods: (1) The early mediæval period, 600-1100; (2) the central or scholastic period, 1100-1300; (3) the declining mediæval period, 1300-1500.

The Early Mediæval Period, 600-1100

The period from the seventh to the eleventh century inclusive is the darkest in the history of preaching. Ignorance and other unfitness in the clergy, brutality and illiteracy among the people, and many other hindrances worked against the preaching of these ages. It is not to be expected that our research into the state of homiletical theory during such times will be rewarded with anything of special value. Yet there are a few treatises which present some degree of interest as filling what would otherwise be a total blank. Two of these claim notice here, for this and other reasons, and not as having any intrinsic worth. These are works of Isidore of Seville and Rabanus Maurus.

Isidore of Seville (d. 636)[1] was the younger brother of Leander, whom he succeeded in the archbishopric of their city. He was a man of wonderful learning, a notable prelate, and an esteemed preacher. He wrote a number of works on a great variety of subjects. His most remarkable production is the treatise in twenty books usually called the *Etymologies*, sometimes the *Origins*, in which he briefly discusses all the learning of his time. Most of it indeed is mere compilation, and he is

[1] See the accounts in Wetzer and Welte's *Kirchenlexikon*, Hauck-Herzog *Realencyclopadie*, Schaff's *History of the Christian Church*, Vol. IV., p. 662ff., Montalembert's *Monks of the West*, Vol. I., p. 424ff., and the Works of Isidore in Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, tt. 81-84.

said to have quoted 150 authors. The title is quite misleading, as the discussion of etymology proper is only a small part of the work. Schaff describes it as "a concise encyclopedia of universal learning."

In Book I., after defining culture ("discipline") and describing the Seven Liberal Arts, he takes up grammar, discussing the alphabet and the grammatical rules of the schools. In Book II. he proceeds to rhetoric. Here he condenses the accepted body of doctrine on that subject. There is nothing new or striking in his treatment, but it shows easy mastery of his matter and power of vigorous and condensed statement of principles. He defines rhetoric as "the science of speaking well," and adopts (without quotation marks) Cato's famous definition of the orator as "a good man skilled in speaking" (*vir bonus dicendi peritus*), adding that the "good man consists of nature, morals and arts." One of the best of the little chapters (Bk. II., Chap. VII.) may be given entire as a sample of the author's manner: "Chap. VII. On the Four Parts of an Oration. 1. The parts of an oration in the art of rhetoric are four: exordium, narration, argumentation, conclusion. The first of these arouses the mind of the hearer, the second explains things that have been done, the third produces confidence in assertions, the fourth embraces the end of the whole oration. 2. We must begin then in such a way as to make the hearer well disposed, teachable and attentive:

well disposed by beseeching, teachable by instructing, attentive by exciting. We must so narrate as to speak briefly and clearly. We must so argue as first to strengthen our own [arguments] and then to crush those opposed to us. We must so conclude as to stir up the mind of the hearer to do [lit. to fulfill, *implere*] what we say." The whole of the little treatise is only a condensed rhetoric, with nothing distinctively homiletical. And this is all that the literature seems to show in the way of homiletical theory up to the ninth century!

Nearly two hundred years after Isidore lived the famous Rabanus Maurus (d. 856), archbishop of Mainz. He, too, was a learned and voluminous writer. His complete works occupy six volumes in Migne's *Latin Patrology*. Of these the famous treatise *De Clericorum Institutione* (*On the Institution of the Clergy*) contains what he has to say on homiletical theory.

The book was written in the early years of the author, probably while still a monk at Fulda, though perhaps already a teacher of others. It is dedicated to the then archbishop of Mainz, Haistulph, and to the author's fellow-monks at Fulda. The treatise is a sort of text-book of clerical duties, and matters pertaining to the clerical office. It treats of the ranks of the clergy, tonsure, vestments, etc.; of the rites and ordinances, such as baptism, the Supper, unction, the mass. In the second book he discusses the sacred seasons, fasting, penance, confession, reading and singing in

worship, the Catholic faith and heresies. In the third book he takes up preaching and thus describes his purpose: "The third book sets forth how all things written in the divine books are to be investigated and learned, also those things in the studies and arts of the heathen which are useful to be studied by the ecclesiastic man. Lastly also the book shows in what way it becomes those who bear the office of teaching to address different hearers with different modes of speech, and in ecclesiastical doctrine faithfully to teach them." In the work itself he adheres to this preannounced plan and comes in his third book to the discussion of the discipline or education of the preacher. In the first fifteen chapters he treats of the Biblical material and its interpretation, acknowledging (very justly!) his great indebtedness to Augustine and referring to that father for fuller treatment. In chapters 16-25 he discusses the Seven Liberal Arts—the *trivium* and *quadrivium*—in regular form. In chapters 26, 27 he makes some remarks as to the bearing of the study of philosophy and morals on preaching. At last, in chapters 28-36, he takes up and discusses *quid debeat doctor catholicus in dicendo agere,* that is, how the orthodox preacher ought to act in speaking; or, in other words, how the principles and practice of rhetoric are applicable to preaching. But let not the expectant reader look for much, now he has come to the main point. For what follows is only a rehash of Augustine's *Christian Teaching.* It is greatly

condensed, but all the ideas are borrowed from that great book. The three ends of speaking—to please, to instruct, to move; the three styles—humble, moderate, grand; the example of Paul (though not of Amos), all are here. Rabanus even reproduces Augustine's ingenious and sophistical defense of plagiarism—which is surely quite to the point! The substance of the defense is that when one takes and commits to memory what another has written, for use in speech, he does no wrong, provided he puts himself into the feelings of the original author; for he who steals takes away what is another's, but the word of God is in no such exclusive sense another's, for it really belongs to him who obeys it! That is, he makes it his own (no matter who has put it into form) if he lives up to it! In another passage Rabanus discusses (after the Gregories this time, even using one Gregory's acknowledgment of debt to the other!) the three very important matters of (1) how the preacher should adapt his teaching to the quality of his audience, (2) how he should be able to distinguish, classify and contrast the virtues and vices, (3) how he should pray to God for power in speech. In case we have learned anything from others we should pray for those from whom we have received it, and for those to whom we offer it, and give thanks to God who gave it both to our teachers and to us.

After Rabanus, to the end of this epoch, there does not seem to have been any author who has

dealt with the theory of preaching. If such works exist they have escaped the notice of scholars. Still it would not be fair to assume that in the one and one-half centuries from Rabanus Maurus to the great revival of preaching early in the twelfth century there was no instruction in homiletical theory and no literary product of such instruction. We can only say that there must have been homiletical teaching on the basis of principles accepted from the past; and there may have been treatises on the subject which have not been preserved.

The Central or Scholastic Mediæval Period, 1100-1300

The impulse given to preaching by the reforms of Hildebrand (c. 1050) and the first crusade (c. 1095) naturally first affected practice rather than theory. But within the flourishing epoch of mediæval preaching which reached its height in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, we find that renewed attention is given to the art as well as the act of preaching.

One of the most important and famous writers of this age was Guibert of Nogent (1053-1124). He was born of excellent and wealthy parents at Clermont. His father died while the boy was yet an infant, but his good mother gave him a careful upbringing, a service which he has duly and tenderly recognized and eulogized in his autobiog-

raphy.[1] Among other educational advantages Guibert enjoyed the instructions of the noted and beloved Anselm at Bec. He became a preacher of some note, Abbot of Nogent after 1104, and a writer of many books, among them the well-known *Gesta Dei per Francos,* an account of the First Crusade. His homiletical work comes in the way of a preface to his commentary on the Book of Genesis (*Moralia in Genesim*), under the title *Liber Quo Ordine Sermo Fieri Debeat,* or A Treatise on the Method (order) by which a Sermon Ought to be Made.[2] It is by no means a formal treatise on rhetoric, sacred or secular, but rather a defense or explanation of the author's preferred method of interpreting Scripture, and therefore appropriately prefixed to a commentary on the first book of the Bible. It was written at the request of a friend. The style is rather crabbed and involved, but the book is spirited, and shows both vigor and independence of mind. The treatise does not lend itself to formal analysis, but is for substance as follows:

It is a perilous thing for one whose function it is to preach to neglect his business; for if it is blameworthy for one to commit sin, it is likewise so for one to fail to try to hinder others from sinning, or to help save the sinner. But preaching is much neglected by some, and that on account of pride; of which there are two sorts: (1) Distaste,

[1] Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, t. 156, col. 839.

[2] The original in Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, t. 156, col. 21 seq.; and a slight account in Lentz, *Geschichte der Homiletik,* I., S. 235ff.

(2) Jealousy. Distaste arises from "sermonizers" who by making a business and boast of preaching disgust those who do not wish to be reckoned with that class. Others decline to preach through jealousy, not being willing for others to profit by their knowledge, or fearing lest they might profit too well and surpass themselves. Others still are provoked by envy to only occasional efforts, and these for vainglory. Yet others are kept from preaching because they are evil men and naturally do not wish to speak of good things while they themselves are doing evil things. And still others withhold their services from their brethren because they have no pastoral charge. Let us belong to none of these "orders," but the rather be living members of the church of Christ, clean in heart and earnest in effort to learn and teach the holy things of Scripture. "Let prayer precede the sermon, that the mind glowing with divine love may ardently declare the things which it received from God; that as it glows inwardly it may thus inflame the hearts of the hearers." A lukewarm and languid sermon pleases neither preacher nor hearer. When we find ourselves dull and lifeless it is better to make an end, for if even a good sermon wearies by excessive length how much more does a dull one! Also a preacher should consider both elements of his audience, making things plain to the uncultured and at the same time giving the educated something to stir thought and kindle aspiration.

There are four well-known methods of interpreting Scripture in sermons: (1) historical; (2) allegorical; (3) tropological or moral; (4) anagogical, or spiritual. For example, Jerusalem, after the historical method, is the city of that name; allegorically, the church; tropologically or morally it is "the believing soul of any one who sighs for the vision of eternal peace"; according to the anagogical or spiritual method it signifies the life of the heavenly citizens who see God face to face. Each of these methods has its value, and the preacher should know how to use them all; but the most useful for edification is the tropological, the way of moral application. For though allegory be pleasing to the believer, and may help his faith, moral application is more profitable to his life. For its effective use the preacher should know both virtue and vice, that he may persuade to the one and warn against the other. From his own experience he should know what temptation is and how the Lord delivers from it. Some allegory intermingled imparts freshness, and the preacher should also know how to illustrate from nature and life. His sincerity and good intentions should be not open to question; there should be no ground to suspect him of preaching either for fame or money. In moral preaching it must be made clear that vice is punished both in this life and forever in hell, and that virtue is eternally rewarded in heaven. But the preacher must also remember how God forgives the penitent and accepts the

fruits of genuine contrition. Paul knew how bitterly vice punishes him who commits it, and St. Gregory says there is nothing happier than an innocent mind. But a theoretical knowledge of vice and virtue is not enough. In vain is a soldier armed if he has no mind to fight. "And what profits it to perceive the virtues contrary to lusts if the reason, torpid and inert, will not arise to fight with them?" Holding these principles in mind the author proceeds to comment on the Book of Genesis.

Next after Guibert should be mentioned Alan of Lille (Alanus ab Insulis) who died about 1203. There were several influential men of this name, and the tangle of personality has not been quite satisfactorily worked out by scholars. But this particular Alan seems to have been a Cistercian abbot at the town later known as Lille in Flanders. He is said to have lived to a very great age, and to have been a man of great learning. He was a voluminous author and his writings were much read. We are here concerned only with his *Summary of the Art of Preaching* (*Summa de Arte Praedicatoria*), a treatise which shows great acuteness of thought, ample learning and considerable homiletical skill.[1]

In the preface Alan begins by saying that the

[1] It may be consulted in Migne, tom. 210, col. 110 seq., and is noticed by Lentz, *op. cit.*, S. 232ff. by Lecoy de la Marche, *La Chaire Française au Moyen Age., etc.*, p. 152 seq., by the cyclopedias, and quite recently in the new volume of Schaff's *Hist. of the Christian Church*, V. 853f.

ladder of Jacob consisted of seven rounds which represent the progress of "the catholic man" and are these: (1) Confession; (2) prayer; (3) thanksgiving; (4) study (*perscrutatio*) of the Scriptures; (5) in doubtful interpretations seeking aid from older men; (6) exposition of Scripture; (7) preaching. Each of these is elaborated somewhat, and on the last it is remarked: "He ascends the last round when he publicly proclaims what he has learned from Scripture." Alan says that on the first six steps much has been written, but on the last very little. So "we have thought it worth our while to compose this treatise for the benefit of our neighbors. First, then, we must consider what preaching is and of what sort as regards both the surface matter of words and the weight of opinions, and how many are its kinds; secondly, who ought to preach; thirdly, to whom it should be delivered; fourthly, why; fifthly, where." According to this promised outline the work proceeds to treat of the first topic, or set of topics, in chapters 1-37. Chapter 38 suffices for the second—whose office it is to preach. The third head, on the different kinds of hearers, occupies chapters 39-48. And here the book abruptly ends, the last two of the proposed topics being omitted without explanation.

In the opening chapter Alan discusses the nature and qualities of preaching, giving this definition: "Preaching is open and public instruction in morals and faith, promoting the information of

men, and proceeding from the path of reasons and the fountain of authorities''—by the last lumbering expression he means that it is to be supported by arguments addressed to the reason and by the authority of the Scriptures and of the church or theologians. Developing his theme he shows that preaching must be open, according to Christ's command in Matt. 10:26f, and as opposed to the secret teaching of heresy; and that it must be public, that is, addressed to more than one. By morals and faith he means of course duty and doctrine, and thus explains: ''The two parts of theology are intended, namely, the rational, which pursues knowledge of divine things, and the moral, which offers instruction in morals. For preaching instructs now in divine things, now in morals; which is signified by the angels ascending and descending; for these angels are preachers, who ascend when they preach heavenly things and descend when through moral teaching they adapt themselves to their inferiors.'' Promoting information gives the final cause, or utility, of preaching. Preaching in ambitious or undignified language for effect is to be avoided; but we must not be too censorious of those who thus preach, but rather bear with them, according to the example of Paul who rejoiced in the preaching of the gospel, even in pretense. The weight of thought in a sermon is the main thing.

As regards form, preaching should first of all rest upon the authority of Scripture as its own

proper foundation, especially the Gospels, the Psalms, the Epistles of Paul, and the writings of Solomon, from which useful moral instruction may be derived. But other parts of Scripture should not be neglected, especially when they can be made to serve the purpose in view in preaching. In the next place, the preacher should capture the good will of his hearers alike by his own modest bearing and by the usefulness to them of the theme which he proposes to discuss. He ought to impress them that he is setting before them the word of God for their good, and not for any earthly reward to himself or for applause, for they should be thinking not of the speaker, but of what he says. "For in a thornbush not the sharpness of the thorn but the beauty of the rose is to be considered; for even in a frail reed honey is found, and from a stone a flame is struck." Next the preacher should proceed to the exposition and application of his text. He should not take too difficult and obscure a text. Nor should he range too widely from his theme, lest the beginning, middle and end of his discourse should not agree! He should adduce other authorities to sustain his proposition, occasionally quoting even secular authors, as did Paul. He should put in moving speech to soften the minds of his hearers, even to bring tears. When he sees tears flowing he should pause a little, but not too long, remembering what Lucretius says: "*Nihil citius arescit lacryma*" (nothing dries more quickly than a tear). The sermon should be con-

cise, "lest prolixity beget disgust." Finally, the preacher should use examples to prove his points, for teaching by illustration is both easy and popular. So much for theory.

Alan now proceeds in chapters 2-37 to illustrate his principles by examples. He takes up a number of different subjects and gives model sketches and outlines showing how they ought to be treated. These are more curious than valuable, full of strained interpretations and applications, but exhibiting not a little homiletical skill and shrewdness in the outlines and hits. Some of the subjects treated are Contempt of the World, Contempt of Self, Gluttony, Luxury, Avarice, Pride, Spiritual Grief and Joy, Talkativeness, Lying, Prayer, Alms, Hospitality, etc.

In chapter 38 Alan takes up his second general topic of discussion, Who should preach? and claims that the function should be confined to those duly authorized by the church. They must be sound in doctrine that they may teach others, and pure in life that they may offer a good example. He condemns unsparingly the lazy, the mercenary, the unworthy. "To preachers belong knowledge, that they be trained in both Testaments, discreet in the examination of opinions, skilled in sermons, circumspect in all their actions, contemners of the world, assiduous in their duty."

In chapters 39-48 he discusses the matter of audiences—the different kinds of hearers. It is evident that he has in mind imperfect believers rather

than unbelievers. Membership in the church is presupposed. Those outside are rather regarded as swine before whom the pearls of gospel truth must not be thrown. He instances a great variety of hearers, and shows how the preacher must adapt his teaching to the different ones as a physician his remedies to different patients. As before, he gives examples of sermons to the different kinds of hearers, showing how it must be done. These include sketches of sermons to soldiers, lawyers, princes and judges, monks, priests, married people, widows, virgins, *and the sleepy*. With this crack of the whip our worthy homilist concludes his homily on homiletics. Whether the remaining two topics proposed in the introduction were purposely dropped, or postponed and never again taken up, does not appear. But either of these conjectures is more probable than that this part of the treatise was finished and lost.

This is the most important work on the theory of preaching since Augustine. It introduces the scholastic method and the more numerous treatises of the scholastic period. Though incomplete, ill arranged, abounding in strained conceits and other faults, it has some measure of originality, and a good deal of shrewdness, good sense and suggestiveness.[1]

[1] The great collection of mediæval Latin writers embraced in Migne's *Patrologia Latina* ends with the twelfth century; I have therefore not had access to the originals of the treatises mentioned in the remainder of this lecture. But they have been carefully studied and their substance presented by one or more of the following scholars from whose works, and some other authorities,

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, especially the latter, preaching had a great revival. Early in the thirteenth century the two great Orders of Preachers (Dominicans and Franciscans) were founded, and from these proceeded many renowned preachers and scholastics. In the twelfth century the great preacher and mystic, Bernard of Clairvaux, flourished, and others with him. In the thirteenth century after Dominic and Francis came great popular preachers like Anthony of Padua and Berthold of Regensburg, and famous theologians like Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventura, who were also known as able preachers. Besides these leaders there were a number of others who preached the Word with power and effect.

In the thirteenth century the most important name that comes up in the theory of preaching is that of the renowned "Seraphic Doctor," Bonaventura (d. 1274), theologian, mystic, cardinal and saint. Among his numerous writings is one which bears the title *The Art of Preaching* (*Ars Concionandi*). The little work follows closely the *Christian Teaching* of Augustine. It discusses as its three main topics: Division (the general out-

the ensuing discussion is chiefly derived. Lentz, *Geschichte der Homiletik*, 2 vols., an old work, but still valuable in many points though incomplete, Lecoy de la Marche, *La Chaire Française au Moyen Age*, a very able, thorough and satisfying work, a model of its kind; R. Cruel, *Geschichte der Deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter*, a work as satisfactory for the German pulpit as the preceding one is for that of France. The thoroughness of research, candor and critical ability displayed in these latter two great works would seem to leave little for an independent investigator to do but to verify their facts and occasionally to differ in judgment as to details.

line of the whole discourse), Distinction (the more minute and logical analysis of the proposition), and Enlargement (*Dilatatio,* filling out with illustration, argument, appeal, etc.). The book gives sound teaching and useful cautions on all these points, but seems to pay chief attention to the last. It is noticeable that this great scholastic gives a sane warning against that minute and subtle division of which he was himself so great a master; which goes to show that already the doctors of the scholastic method realized how their weaker pupils were carrying the method to excess. It is at least refreshing to hear this great doctor say (as quoted by Lentz): "For the more simple an analysis is, that is by the fewness of its members, so much the better."

The next treatise of any importance is that of Humbert de Romanis (d. 1277), a Frenchman, educated in Paris, a Dominican monk, and for a long time general of his order. He is said to have begun his book about the year 1255 and to have spent several years in writing it. The work is entitled *De Eruditione Praedicatorum* (*On the Education of Preachers*) and has special reference to the training of preachers for their duties. It consists of two books of a hundred chapters each. The first book treats of the office of the preacher in a more general way—its requirements, duties, aims, effects, etc. The second book bears more directly on preaching, and is divided into two parts: (1) The art of composing sermons for all classes of

hearers; and (2) How to compose sermons promptly (*De modo prompte cudendi sermonem*). It seems, from what Lentz and Lecoy have to say of it, to be a dry and wooden method; a set of detailed rules to be followed in various circumstances, but to contain some valuable hints and suggestions. Lentz[1] says: "The author appears in a more engaging light when he criticizes the faults of his contemporaries. Here he gives warnings which are useful for all times. He blames especially the hankering after subtleties, in order, by what is novel and paradoxical, to shine in the pulpit." He also condemns excessive length of sermons, whimsical choice and forced interpretations of texts, and other faults common then and always. One of his sayings worth quoting is: "There are those who are more studious for ornaments of language than for the views to be expressed; like those who care more for the beauty of the dish in which they serve the food than for the food itself."

The Declining Mediæval Period, 1300-1500

Toward the end of the thirteenth century the great age of preaching which then came to its height was already declining. This was especially apparent in the scholastic and popular types of preaching; it was not so manifest in the mystic type, which rather came to its height in Tauler of Strasburg in the next century (d. 1361). But the

[1] *Op. cit.*, I, S. 239ff.

Homiletics of the time does not show as much decline as the preaching; and the reason for this is apparent in that as theory commonly follows practice, the theory of any epoch is likely to be based more on preceding than on contemporary practice. This does not hold good entirely, but is sufficiently near the truth to account for the fact mentioned. But even at best we find that the Homiletics of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is marked by many faults of its own and the preceding age. It cannot be regarded as of the highest sort, but it affords much of more or less curious interest, both as an evolution from the past and as an impulse to the future of homiletical theory. The number of treatises is greater, and they are more elaborate.

To the last of the thirteenth or the early part of the fourteenth century belongs a group of treatises of uncertain authorship. One of these is assigned to the famous theologian, Thomas Aquinas, (d. 1274), but is almost certainly not his. It is called *A Treatise on the Art of Preaching* (*Tractatus de Arte Praedicandi*), and discusses the nature, value and effect of preaching; the mode of amplifying the discourse; and certain points which the preacher must observe, such as, he must not be ashamed to preach Christ, but must avoid things likely to cause stumbling and be silent about doubtful things, never raise a question without answering it, speak clearly, deliberately, and without unnecessary repetitions; must prepare as care-

fully for village folk as for the more cultivated, avoid needless haste, must not let his looks wander around when preaching, never address a particular person, nor preach too long, not more than an hour in any case; must carefully turn his Latin sketch into the common tongue, but studiously avoid all coarse, undignified and offensive expressions. A later supplement gives some examples of sermons of different kinds, and distinguishes three different modes of preaching: (1) The laic or popular mode, like the old homily or running comment on Scripture; (2) the thematic, or topical form, which derives a *status* or proposition from the text and logically unfolds it; (3) the remaining mode is described rather than named as being the use of the text itself as the proposition which gives the division, and supporting it with illustrations, arguments, application. Thus we see that the threefold distinction so familiar to us—expository, topical and textual—was already in use and clearly distinguished.

An anonymous treatise belonging to the end of the thirteenth century or early in the next was found by Lecoy in the Sorbonne and is discussed by him in the work already noted.[1] Of the two titles given the critic prefers *A Certain Treatise on Amplifying Sermons* (*Tractatus quidam de dilatatione sermonum*). It is very brief, only a sort of homiletical sketch showing how to expand a sermon—chiefly, it would seem,

[1] *La Chaire Française au Moyen Age*, pp. 193, 288, 296.

a sketch or outline either made to order or bodily stolen by the preacher! In several places the treatise seems itself to owe guiltily much to the sketch of Bonaventura on the same subject. It gives eight ways of amplifying a discourse: (1) Putting a proposition for a word—by definition, description, explanation; (2) dividing and analyzing, but not overmuch; (3) reasoning, both direct and refutative; (4) citation of texts; (5) use of the degrees—positive, comparative, superlative; (6) use of figures of speech; (7) use of allegory, tropology, anagogy; (8) setting forth of causes and effects.

Along with this may be mentioned a *Treatise on the Art of Preaching* usually ascribed to Henry of Hesse (d. 1397), but really of unknown date and authorship.[1] Cruel discusses it, but it seems to be of little or no value except as a specimen of its kind. It distinguishes four kinds of preaching: (1) The most ancient (homily, exposition); (2) the modern (thematic, topical); (3) the ancient (textual); (4) the subaltern (a kind of mixture of the last two). Examples of each kind, except the last, are given.

It is a long time before we come to anything else worth mentioning in the way of the literary treatment of homiletical theory. We find it at the end of the fifteenth century, just prior to the new era of Humanists and Reformers who intro-

[1] For remarks on this and the two following treatises I am indebted to Cruel, *Geschichte der deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter*, SS. 596, 599, 601.

duce the modern epoch. Just about the turn into the sixteenth century there appeared two treatises which show some advance upon the preceding in fullness and force of treatment, but little if any in other respects. One of these is a *Treatise on the method of learning and teaching to the people sacred things, or the method of preaching,* as the long title runs. The author calls himself Hieronymus (Jerome) Dungersheim of Ochsenfurt, and dedicates his work to Ernst, archbishop of Magdeburg, who died in 1513 but seems to have been still living when the book was published. This gives us a general but not exact hint as to the date of the work. Cruel speaks highly of "the vigorous handling and logical division of the material."

In the preface the author declares the aim of his work to be the instruction of young preachers for the most important of all tasks, lamenting that so many are thrust into the work without sufficient preparation. He divides Homiletics into three parts, after the manner of Aristotle's *Rhetoric:* (1) As it relates to the preacher; (2) the sermon itself; (3) the hearers. In the first section he gives sensible counsels as to the preacher's studies, character and habits of work. One good warning, which it is refreshing at least to find, is directed against the practice of depending on collections of sermons prepared for use. And it is interesting to note that the author urges at least three years of preparatory theological

studies before taking up the active duties of the priesthood. In the second section, which is more definitely homiletical, the treatise sets forth in chapters 1 and 2 the utility, material, and composition of sermons. Chapter 3 tells of the different kinds of sermons and discusses at length the *modus communis,* or prevalent method of preaching: First comes the announcement of the text in Latin, then the greeting to the people, next repetition or paraphrase of the text in the vernacular, with prayer for divine aid in expounding it, using with this an *Ave* or a *Paternoster* or the *Veni Sancte Spiritus;* then comes the introduction which may be derived from various sources; then the proposition; next the disposition or arrangement, which may be either a logical division of the theme or may follow the natural division of the text. The author then proceeds to specify ten ways in which the method of treatment may be varied, such as, a running comment on the lesson of the day (the old homily fashion), division of the passage into several parts, explanation in the fourfold manner (historical, moral, allegorical, spiritual), consideration of causes, effects, circumstances, modes, peculiarities of the text; and so on. Chapters 4-8 discuss amplification, figures of speech, turning the sermon into German, faults of delivery, and the conclusion. The third section covers the long familiar ground of the various kinds of hearers and the preaching adapted to each.

About the same time flourished another homiletician of some note, Ulrich Surgant, who says that he was a young priest in 1475. The first book of his treatise is dated 1502, and in the second book 1508 is mentioned as the current year. He held important positions as canon and dean in churches at Basel, was a titled doctor and evidently a man of some culture. His book bears the title *A Manual for Curates* (*Manuale Curatorum*). It is important both in itself and as marking the transition to the homiletical work of the Humanists of the next period. It consists of two books, of which the first treats of the theory of preaching, and the second gives a collection of models, extracts, subjects and examples suited to all sorts of occasions. The first book is the one of special interest here. Without a more general classification it discusses the art of preaching in twenty-five chapters under the following topics: What preaching is, who should preach, what and how, the fourfold interpretation, the special art or science of preaching, different kinds, parts of the sermon, rules and authorities, rules for turning the Latin into German (in the delivery, indicating the use of Latin notes or ready-made sermons), relation of sacred to secular rhetoric, memorizing, delivery, adaptation to the intelligence of the audience, faults in delivery, conclusion of the sermon, homiletical helps—especially books. We see from this enumeration that the treatise covers many points of practical value;

but not having seen the original I cannot give any estimate of the comparative worth of the treatment.

On the whole, as we survey the long path through which we have toiled, we see that Homiletics after Augustine was sadly lacking in originality and power. The treatment was sapless and mechanical; life and interest are wanting. I think the little book of Guibert of Nogent prefixed to his commentary on Genesis shows more liveliness than the more formal treatises, but it is merely a sketch. We cannot have failed to notice how largely the matter of adaptation to audiences figures in these works as compared with those of our times. The general rhetorical principles of division and style and delivery receive conventional notice, but the reproduction is monotonous and tame for the most part. One thing we cannot fail to commend is the urgent insistence on fitness in character and culture in the preacher; and, however far short practice fell, it is gratifying that at least correct theory was set forth on this vital point. The four modes of interpretation are often explained, but no particular encouragement is given to the allegorical and spiritual. Theoretically at least the historical and moral seem to be preferred. The faults of extremists and oddities are reprehended. After the twelfth century the influence of scholasticism is clearly apparent. There is great need of new and better treatment, and the time is at hand.

LECTURE IV

THE ART OF PREACHING AS INFLUENCED BY THE REVIVAL OF LETTERS IN THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

In 1453 the city of Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks. In part due to that fact, but largely to other causes also, there began about that time a movement westward of Greek scholars and a consequent revival of interest in the Greek language and literature. Along with this came naturally an increased interest in the classic Latin literature also. This movement, commonly known as the Revival of Letters, was in part preceded and in part accompanied by the Renaissance (or Rebirth) of Art. This double movement of new life in Art and Literature powerfully stimulated thought, as did also the discovery of America in 1492. Altogether the epoch lying in the latter half of the fifteenth and on through the sixteenth century was a time of tremendous significance in the history and the thought of Western Europe. All subsequent history, in every sphere of thought and action, has felt the influence of that mighty era. For some reason this movement, in respect to the study of Latin and Greek, received the name of Humanism, and its leaders were called Humanists. For a long time in some of the uni-

versities the courses of study in the ancient classics (especially Latin) were called the Humanities.

Humanist Homiletics

The contribution of Humanism, or the Revival of Learning, to homiletical theory may be best exhibited by considering first the general influence of that great movement on Homiletics, and then the definite homiletical work of two great Humanists—Reuchlin and Erasmus.

In the most general aspects of the matter we may observe several lines of humanistic influence upon the development of Homiletics. (1) The general and widespread quickening of thought, which partly produced and fruitfully accompanied and characterized the Revival of Letters, inevitably worked its effects in the department of preaching and its theory. (2) The more accurate scholarship which came in with the movement, with its enthusiastic attention to the details of literary acquisition and expression, was a force of no little importance in the same way. (3) The improvement of literary taste, which naturally went along with the rest, must also be recognized as having important general influence in the improvement of homiletical theory.

But while these general forces must be taken into the account a more direct and powerful influence is to be noted in the revived study of the classical rhetoric. Along with the other great clas-

sical writings those which deal especially with the principles of rhetoric came up for fresh and first-hand study. Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian and others were read anew and with greater zest. The time for dry compilations and reproductions, for sapless imitations and barren rehashings of patristic and scholastic theories of public speaking had passed away. Men were going back to those original sources of higher rhetorical art which had given law to the classic periods of literature. Such study inevitably brought forth sharp and intelligent humanistic criticism upon the prevailing methods of preaching, the inheritance of scholasticism and its popular abuses. Among the many things which invited the satirical wit of humanist reformers the homiletical methods and principles of the clergy did not escape. Chief among those who gave special attention to rhetorical and homiletical matters were Reuchlin and Erasmus.

John Reuchlin (1455-1522) was born at Pforzheim in Baden and educated at Schlettstadt, Freiburg, Paris, Basel and Orleans. He studied both law and literature, became an adept in classical and Hebrew scholarship, and taught in a number of universities, including those at Tübingen and Ingolstadt. Perhaps his especial significance in the world of letters is the start he gave to Hebrew studies. He became involved in a celebrated controversy with the Dominicans of Cologne. His cause was taken up by Ulrich von Hutten and

others, especially by the authors of the famous budget of satirical letters called *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum.* He was acquitted of heresy, but some of his writings and utterances were afterwards condemned. He lived and died a Catholic, though his work and writings gave great impulse to the cause of reform.

Among his many writings is one published in 1504 under the title: *Liber congestorum de arte praedicandi,* which means a collection of rules, etc., on the art of preaching. Thus the title itself indicates the want of originality and the lack of thoroughness in the treatment. I have not seen the original and therefore cannot speak from personal study of either its merits or defects. Christlieb in Herzog, and others do not give a high idea of its value. It seems to be a brief and ill-arranged treatise, but it had the excellent design of awakening a new interest in preaching on a more evangelical basis than the prevalent one. It owed much to Augustine, but went back to the classic rhetoric for its leading principles. It urged upon preachers to have a proper conception of the dignity of their calling and to observe a suitable delivery and demeanor. The work treats briefly and in the given order the following homiletical topics: Invention, Introduction, Reading (the Scriptures), Division, Proof, Refutation, Conclusion, Commonplaces (*i. e.,* usual subjects of discourse), Memory (*i. e.,* memorizing either the material or form of discourse for delivery).

Greatest among the Humanists and also most important for our present studies was the famous scholar Desiderius Erasmus (1457-1536). The life of Erasmus has been recently and ably presented by Professor Ephraim Emerton[1] and of course there is frequent mention in church histories, histories of literature, etc. His life and character present many difficulties to the historian and critic as well as to the moralist and psychologist. He was a man of remarkable intellect, wonderful acquirements, notable achievement, puzzling personality and extensive and enduring influence.

Born out of wedlock at Rotterdam, probably in 1467, Erasmus was acknowledged and cared for by his parents during his infancy and childhood. His schooling began early, under an uncle at Utrecht, where he also served as choir boy in the cathedral. At nine he went to a famous school at Deventer where he remained four years. About this time his parents died, but had provided for his guardianship and further education. After spending several years in an establishment of the Brethren of the Common Life, he finally, and, as it appears, reluctantly and on the persuasion of friends and kindred, entered a monastery at Steyn near Gouda. The advantages of his school and monastic life were diligently improved and he well laid the foundation for that liberal culture which ever afterwards distinguished him. By

[1] *Desiderius Erasmus* (*Heroes of the Reformation* series).

permission of the ecclesiastical authorities he accepted a position as literary secretary to the Bishop of Cambrai, with whom he traveled and studied for some years. He never reëntered the monastery; and years later received tardy permission from the pope to lay aside his monastic habit. We cannot follow here his strange long life of many changes of residence, intense scholarly activity, much writing, editing, teaching, correspondence and social intercourse with scholars and other notable men in many lands. We find him in England several times, in Italy, in France, at Louvain, in the Netherlands, at Basel, at Freiburg, and last of all at Basel again where he died an old man in 1536. His way of supporting himself differed according to circumstances. He was disinclined to holding permanent professorships, though these were at his disposal all over Europe. Yet he resided at intervals at several of the universities, including Oxford and Cambridge, though the nature of his services and emoluments is in some doubt. Sometimes he seems to have received a fee for teaching, sometimes pay from publishers for proof-reading or other literary service, something from his books, sometimes he filled a church or college sinecure, and often (to his shame be it said) he derived his support from gifts and unblushing begging! He was fond of ease and luxury and made no bones of wheedling and cajoling his friends to help him find them. His vanity was abnormal, his grumbling continual and contempti-

ble. He was double-minded, time-serving and timid on the great religious question of the age—a great mind and a small character. But withal he was an eminent scholar, whose poorly requited services to letters might well excuse to some extent the patronage of the liberal and wealthy. He was a genial and witty talker, an admirable stylist, a sharp satirist, and on occasion a sane and judicious writer on moral and religious subjects. Among them Rhetoric and Homiletics.

Several things of a general sort are to be noted in regard to Erasmus' rhetorical and homiletical work. His own (Latin) style was admirable, its chief fault being verbosity. During his residence in Italy it is known that he gave instruction in rhetoric to a young illegitimate son of James IV. of Scotland, who held the appointment of archbishop of St. Andrews. Besides this instance of special teaching of the subject there may have been others. That he was deeply interested in general rhetoric and thoroughly versed in it as well, appears from the publication in 1511 of his book *De duplici copia verborum et rerum,* or more commonly briefly called his *Copia.* It is a text-book on rhetoric intended to aid, as the title indicates, in the finding of both words and material. It was a very popular work, passing through nearly sixty editions during the lifetime of the author. In his famous satire *The Praise of Folly* (*Encomium Moriae, or Laus Stultitiae*) and in other writings Erasmus frequently and sharply criticizes the

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faults of the preaching of the day and inculcates sound homiletical principles. All this was excellent preparation for the production of his monumental work on Homiletics, to which we must now give attention.

The most important work on the theory of preaching since Augustine, and one of the most important of all times, is this long and labored treatise of Erasmus. It bears the title, *Ecclesiastes, sive Concionator Evangelicus* (*Gospel Preacher*), and was published at Basel during the last year of the author's life—the dedication being dated Aug., 1535, and his death occurring in Feb., 1536.[1]

In the dedicatory preface Erasmus names four of his friends, including the Bishop of Augsburg, Christopher à Stadio, and the noted Antwerp banker, Antony Fugger, whom he styles "most kind cherisher of studies." He declares that the writing of the book was a reluctant service, performed in fulfillment of a promise made years before. He had long been gathering the material, but had from time to time delayed the execution of his task. And now that it is done he finds much to make him dissatisfied with his work. It seems to him at last to be only a *sylva*—a forest of material, from which others may obtain that which can be worked out into better form. There is

[1] The edition which I have used is that of the Works of Erasmus published at Leyden in 1704 by Peter van der Aa; and for the loan of it I am indebted to the Library of Princeton Theological Seminary.

undoubted justice in this self-criticism. The book shows some weariness of mind, the material is not reduced to orderly and compact shape; but it does contain a wealth of thought, information, illustration and suggestion on the subject of preaching which is all but exhaustive for the age in which the work was prepared. The general plan, as announced in the preface and adhered to in the treatment, is simple enough: He will treat the subject in four books. The first will discuss the dignity of the preaching office and the virtues and character appropriate to the office. The second and third books will consist of doctrines and precepts on the art of preaching derived from rhetoricians, logicians, and theologians. The fourth book will be devoted to the suggestion of particular subjects for pulpit treatment and the best ways of handling them.

According to this previously announced plan Erasmus discusses in his first book the dignity, purity, prudence and other virtues of the preacher. He distinguishes preaching from other oratory as to its contents and aim, and this leads to a consideration of the dignity of the work of the preacher. This greater dignity requires a corresponding elevation and purity of character. As the preacher is the dispenser of the divine word he should be like to him who is the Word, and should like him be filled and led by the Holy Spirit. He who would teach others must himself be divinely taught. The preacher is in peril on the

one hand from the Scylla of pride and on the other from the Charybdis of despair. "I know not whether he has most to fear from those temptations which flatter or those which terrify." Courage and fortitude are necessary virtues to the preacher—even the actor has something to fear from failure to please his audiences, and preachers must often face those whom they must, if faithful, displease. Again, it is not enough that a preacher should know (*scire*), he must also be wise (*sapere*). Further, and of course, he must be a man of prayer, and that from no double heart. Faults and sins weaken his message and his power. He must be above suspicion and live prudently as well as purely. He must remember that he is a steward, and be faithful to his trust, but he should also be prudent in adapting his message to the people and occasion. He must be abundant in good works of both kinds—ceremonial and benevolent, neglecting neither the ritual nor the moral. He must love what he persuades to. His highest business is to teach, and he must neither be a "dumb dog" nor an unfaithful shepherd. He must be patient in view of the inevitable opposition of the world and worldlings. Considering the greatness of his reward he must endure poverty and be content with little. Yet he must not be a beggar, people will take care of a really deserving and self-sacrificing preacher. Here he digresses to insist that it is the duty of the church authorities to induct into the ministerial office only

those who are worthy of it. In conclusion he dwells again on the dignity of the office, its functions, its difficulties, yet insisting that by a suitably unselfish and modest demeanor the preacher can win a hearing for his message.

In the Second and Third Books of his treatise Erasmus comes to the main portion of his work: Precepts and teachings of Rhetoricians, Logicians and Theologians as to the things required in preaching. The disclaimer of originality involved in this way of stating the case is honest and just, but so great and acute a mind as that of Erasmus could not content itself with mere compilation, or with jejune reproduction of the commonplaces of rhetorical science. The treatment shows wide reading and masterly learning; it is judicious enough to hold and unfold the well-wrought developments of the past; but there is enough of the author's own work, in the way of observation, reflection, application, illustration, to give this great treatise an assured place of its own in the literature of Homiletics. Yet that place now is only that of historical and critical interest. One need not (happily!) go to Erasmus to learn Homiletics. I confess I found it a wearisome task to toil through these lengthened and repetitious pages, and I do not profess to have read every one of them with close attention. Erasmus is as vexatious as Aristotle in his involved order of discussion. He adopts an order of treatment, and before the reader is aware he shunts off on an-

other line. Then somewhere else he will take up what he left behind—or thinks he has—and say something more about it! Moreover there is a deal of wordiness and refining which produces satiety. All that is really worth while in the book can be now more easily gotten elsewhere. But it contains a wealth of material, an acuteness of thought, and a wisdom of application which stamp it as one of the great contributions to homiletical thought and treatment.

A survey of the principal teachings of the Second and Third Books is all that can be attempted here. Their general theme is the acquisition of *skill* in preaching through the training of *faculty*.

In the First Book the introduction discusses the need of training—natural gifts and a good character in the preacher being presupposed. Rhetoric is art in the good sense of the term, not artifice. As related to logic it suggests that if one should train his reasoning powers why not also his faculty of speech? The importance of the preacher's work makes it imperative that he should be highly trained for his business. Yet he must not be artificial. The highest art is not to conceal but to use art, and be unconscious of so doing.[1]

Erasmus first takes up Grammar as the neces-

[1] Here is a fine saying which looks better untranslated: "Necesse est enim ut prius sit judicium quam eloquium, prius sapere quam dicere; quemadmodum in natura prior est fons quam fluvius, et in artibus prior est delineatio quam pictura." (*Op. cit.*, col. 851).

sary precedent of Rhetoric. This is the order of the Liberal Arts in the *trivium;* and by grammar of course he understands more than is meant in the modern restricted use of the term. Grammar, or Letters, as then understood, included the elements of all linguistic and literary studies, both as taught in the preparatory (grammar) schools, and as pursued in the universities. Accordingly Erasmus recommends the careful study of language and literature as essential to the preacher. He is careful to urge the importance of a knowledge of Hebrew, Greek and Latin, but does not fail to say that the preacher should also have a good knowledge of the vernacular so as to speak both clearly and elegantly in the popular tongue. He urges the careful study of the classic authors, the Fathers, theologians, and other literature. He also advises the reading of sermons, past and contemporary.

All these preliminaries being now disposed of, Erasmus comes to the heart of his subject and proceeds to discuss such of the precepts of rhetoric as seem to be of special value to the preacher. Some of these precepts and principles evidently do not apply to preaching, and some are unsound in themselves; but many are of service, and the Holy Spirit does not disdain to use them in furtherance of the gospel. In regard to the three kinds of rhetoric—judicial, deliberative, epideictic (which he calls *genus encomiasticum*)—Erasmus remarks that the first only applies to preaching

so far as general precepts pertaining to all public speaking are common to both species. Deliberative, or persuasive, rhetoric, however, gives many important hints to the preacher, especially in regard to the formulation and statement of propositions. Epideictic, or laudatory, rhetoric may be of help in the matter of praise and thanksgiving to God in sermons, and in funeral or memorial addresses. This leads Erasmus to digress here into a discussion of hymns. He dismisses for the present the materials of discourse, to be treated fully further on.

He proceeds to a discussion of what he calls the *office*, or as we may more clearly conceive it, the strictly rhetorical duties, of the preacher. In the general consideration his first duty is to teach, to please, to move. Here we have the Ciceronian dictum as applied by Augustine: *doceat, delectet, flectet.*[1] Of these offices, teaching comes first and is very important. As to pleasing there is first a sort of diffused pleasantness in the speech as a whole. Some preachers, as Bernard and others, were highly gifted in this way. Then there is a pleasure to be produced by reasoning, as when one tries to prove the felicity of the angels and saints. There is also a third kind which seeks to please by pleasantries and jests. It is questionable whether this kind properly belongs to preaching at all. Certainly no case of it occurs in Scripture, unless the ridicule of Elijah at Carmel and the

[1] Let him teach, please, bend.

occasional sarcasm of our Lord may be held as such. Yet in the practice of many preachers the element of pleasantry has had effective place, and may be defended; but of course it is to be sparingly used, in subordination to higher ends, and in good taste. Vulgarities and scurrilities are inexcusable. As to moving, this is the main end of preaching —for the preacher to carry his hearers with him. More will be said on this matter when the feelings come to be considered.

Another way of considering the rhetorical functions of the preacher comes to light in the accepted divisions of Rhetoric. First comes that into Invention, Arrangement, Style, Memory, Delivery (*inventio, dispositio, elocutio, memoria, pronunciatio*). Erasmus compares invention to the bones, arrangement to the nerves, style to the flesh and skin, memory to vitality, and delivery to action or motion. These are the essential things in preaching, and they underlie the other mode of presenting rhetorical theory, *i. e.*, according to the parts of the speech: Exordium, Narration, Division, Confirmation, Confutation, Conclusion. In the discussion of these the author treats introduction and narration together, distinguishes without separating positive and refutative argument, and omits to treat the conclusion; so that now he presents the three very important topics of Introduction, Division and Argument. These are discussed at length.

Under Exordium he treats also the theme, or

statement of the proposition, and brings in his few remarks on narration. An introduction is proper, but it must not be too remote from the theme. There is much affectation of this sort. It is well to derive the introduction from Scripture, and not always the text itself. Various ways of so using Scripture are suggested. Narration (Scriptural or other) often forms a suitable introduction. This should be probable, vivid, preserving the proprieties of place, occasion, etc. The narrative should not present fictitious things as true, but should appear in its true light. Coming back to the exordium proper the author shows how it often arises from a wise or clever use of the occasion, instancing Paul's address at Athens. From secular oratory he tells this good story: An ambassador once came from Byzantium to Athens to secure concord after some interruption of good relations between the cities. He happened to be a very fat man and when he arose to speak the light-minded Athenians greeted him with roars of laughter. Instead of taking offense or being embarrassed he said: "Why do you laugh? My wife is fatter than I; and yet when we are at peace one couch suffices for us both, but when we disagree the whole house is not large enough for us." A number of other counsels on the introduction are given; the last one being that the introduction may often simply be a statement of the proposition and its divisions. It is customary with some before passing to the discussion of the

theme to pause and bring in an invocation. [It may be remarked that this custom still prevails in many German churches, perhaps elsewhere also.] This probably arose from the usage of the poets in invoking the muses, and has no Scriptural or even patristic authority. It may be easily abused, and may do harm.

The next topic is Division. This may be understood in two ways: (1) It is a certain part of the speech or sermon which has the twofold function of calling the hearer's attention to the points which he should specially keep in mind, and of promising on the speaker's part the order and number of the matters to be discussed. (2) Division may also be understood in the more general sense of the order or arrangement of the matter in the sermon as a whole—the course of discussion. It is here considered in the restricted sense of a statement of the theme and its outline. The discussion implies announcement, but proceeds mainly on the finding and unfolding of the theme and its divisions. Division helps the memory of the hearer, aids in holding the speaker to his subject, but sometimes confines thought. To avoid the embarrassment of slips in memory it is well to have notes of the outline. Some topics are not readily thus analyzed, and when this is so do not try to force divisions. When the argument is obscure or involved it is well to have very clearly marked division to aid the hearer in comprehension. Faulty divisions are those which have too many

points and thus becloud the mind of the listener—a great fault of the scholastic. Again, it is a fault to announce as one head a statement which really includes the others—merely re-stating the theme as a division of itself, or giving a division which renders others superfluous. Another fault is where the parts of the division are not coherent, but merely state points not logically connected. On the whole division is very important, but is difficult, and requires much thought and care.

Before passing to his next topic Erasmus digresses at length to consider the invention of propositions and heads of discourse. He seems to have been led to this by his mention of the difficulty of division. The digression goes over some ground already covered, but with some new matter. It makes suggestions as to finding themes of the various sorts, such as those which fall under the *genera* Suasory (Deliberative), Laudatory (Demonstrative), Hortatory, Consolatory, and Admonitory. Under each he gives some sage advices to the preacher on the division and presentation of his themes. He then takes up the *status,* or Statement of the Case, the Proposition. Illustrations here are chiefly from forensic oratory—where the statement of the case is often of supreme importance—but the preacher can learn something from this practice; since it is important that both he and his hearers should have clearly before them just what he is proposing to discuss. This leads him to "add a little more"

on the invention and division of propositions, and the order of statement.

At last Erasmus takes up Argument, or Proof, as one of the essentials of sermon material. But his discussion of the subject has little of originality or value. He follows the Aristotelian categories and distinctions as to the nature and kinds of arguments, and shows how they may be derived from a variety of sources, such as the consideration of times, places, persons and things. He of course distinguishes proof and refutation, and gives general counsels as to their employment and order. He advocates the climactic order in presenting arguments. He advises vividness in the presentation, with occasional interjections to arouse and hold attention; speaks of recapitulation in the conclusion and the best way of managing that. Thus concludes the Second Book.

In the Third Book Erasmus begins by recalling his enumeration of the five "offices," or rhetorical functions of the preacher: Invention, Arrangement, Style (*elocutio*), Memory, and Delivery (*pronunciatio*). Of these he has shown that invention belongs to the whole discourse. Style (or expression, *elocutio*) has been treated in Book I., under the preacher's needs, and in Book II. under Grammar. Order or Arrangement (*dispositio*) has also been discussed and here only a few things are added, or repeated, on that topic. It therefore remains to consider Memory and Delivery (*pronunciatio*).

In regard to Memory dependence on artificial mnemonic aids is really harmful. It is better to trust and train the memory. If long passages are to be quoted, or other cases of special difficulty be encountered let notes be used. A clean life is an aid to memory. Dissipations weaken it. Cares and the reading of many books weaken the memory. This is why old men forget so readily—they have so much on their minds!

In regard to delivery, which after the older rhetoricians he usually calls "pronunciation," sometimes "action," Erasmus defines it as "apta ad rem vocis, vultus ac totius corporis moderatio," *i. e.*, the management, in a way suited to the matter in hand, of the voice, the expression of countenance, and the whole body. Nature itself teaches us to use differences of voice, look and gesture toward different people and under different circumstances; but nature needs to be taught and also to be corrected, especially when led astray by imitation of the faults of others. We often fail to observe our own faults, and so are sometimes pleasing to ourselves in the very things in which we displease others. In which case it is well to have a good friend as monitor. Erasmus proceeds then to give sound and judicious counsels on the several topics of voice, face and gesture. On the last he remarks (col. 964): "In gestibus corporis loquacissimae sunt manus," in the movements of the body the hands are most talkative. In the whole matter of delivery decorum, propriety

and suitableness to occasion and subject must be observed.

A long and very important part of the work follows, which must be noticed with greater brevity. It is devoted to certain "deferred matters," suggested or only slightly touched in the preceding treatment. They are concerned with making the address "forcible, pleasing and copious." The topics presented are five: Force (*vehementia*), Amplification, Appeal to the Feelings, Figures of Speech (including a discussion of the allegorical interpretation of Scripture), and Judgment or Good Sense. Some of the best work of the author appears in this lengthy section. Under Force he treats of how to dwell on a topic so as to make it impressive. Under Amplification (including Diminution by way of contrast) he shows how the preacher must enlarge or diminish for effect, but always strictly within the bounds of truth and propriety. Among the ways of doing this he mentions change of terms, correction, hyperbole, increment, comparison, and emphasis. The discussion of the Feelings has much of interest; and judicious advices are given in regard to restraint, reality, etc. The more vehement emotions it is not often well for the preacher to stir. To awaken feeling he must feel. It has been well said, *Nihil incendere nisi ignem* (nothing kindles but fire). And he adds a phrase of his own worth quoting: *Mens ignea linguam facit igneam* (a flaming mind makes a flaming tongue). He gives hints

and illustrations as to the best means of exciting the feelings, giving sound cautions on the subject, and earnestly urging the preacher to prayer for wisdom in this most important matter.

In regard to Figures a long discussion ensues. The use of figures is required by the "virtues" of a speech, and the principal virtues are: probability, perspicuity, vividness (*evidentia*), pleasantness, force, and splendor or sublimity. He discusses the figures which tend to these ends, and brings in a consideration of maxims and proverbs which aid in the same way. Recurring to figures, he gives a long and for the most part judicious consideration to the use of figures and figurative language in Scripture, in the course of which he condemns the excesses of the allegorical interpretation. In regard to the Good Judgment of the preacher in dealing with his themes and audiences a number of good things are said. He must avoid giving offense, but not compromise with evil, must mitigate blame as far as is right, and be fatherly and sympathetic in administering it; must not preach the atonement so as to give excuse for sin, remembering that those who continue in sin have no justifying faith. So in all things the preacher must be circumspect and avoid doing harm while seeking to do good.

The Fourth Book is of little or no value. It consists of a long collection of subjects and suggestions of how to treat them. This was a feature of the mediæval and to some extent of the

reformatory homiletics which most modern treatises have wisely abandoned. On the whole this labored, diffuse, ill-arranged and long-drawn-out treatise could never have had many readers, but it must have proved, as its author hoped it would, a thesaurus from which many teachers of rhetoric and homiletics drew material for the instruction of their pupils and the composition of briefer treatises.

Catholic Homiletics

Our survey could not be complete without some mention of the state of homiletical theory among the Catholics of the period, though their contributions are not so important for the general subject as those previously considered. In Homiletics as well as in other spheres of reform, they owed much to both the Humanists and the Protestants. Though it is natural for Protestants to exaggerate and for Catholics to minimize this influence, it must be recognized as important. It was felt both in the theory and the practice of preaching. Yet of course the improvement due to reforms within the Catholic church must not be denied. Of these may be recalled the work of the humanistic reformers who remained in the Catholic fold. Besides Reuchlin and Erasmus, who never separated from the Catholic church, there were many scholars of the time who were warmer partisans of the ancient order. There were a considerable

number of these, especially in Italy, and the work of these scholarly leaders was felt in every sphere of Catholic thought, including preaching. Prominent here was Charles Borromeo, the famous archbishop of Milan, cardinal and later saint. He not only took a deep personal interest in the improvement of preaching, wrote a little book on pastoral duties in which he touched on the matter, perhaps influenced if he did not directly frame the action of the Council of Trent on this subject, but he induced Valerio to write a book on preaching. The Council of Trent, among its other stupendous labors, gave active and decisive attention to reforms in preaching, and sought to correct some of the more flagrant abuses both in practice and theory.

Among Catholic writers of the time a few deserve notice. Augustine Valerio, at the request of Cardinal Borromeo, published in 1575 a *Rhetoric Ecclesiastical.* He groups and discusses the materials of preaching under the heads of things to be believed, hoped for, feared, avoided, done. He insists on maintaining a distinction between sacred and common rhetoric. He urges that the two chief duties of the preacher are to teach and to move his hearers. In 1565 the Spanish court preacher, Lorenzo Villavicentio, published a treatise on preaching which seems (from the title and some indication of the treatment as given by Keppler in *Wetzer and Welte*), to have been directly borrowed from the great Protestant homiletician Hyperius—with such changes as the situation de-

manded. It has the same title as the work of Hyperius—*De formandis concionibus sacris, etc.,* and adopts his classification of the kinds of preaching as distinguished from secular oratory. The work is divided into three books, however, instead of two, and the author pays much attention to argument and the refutation of heresy.

In his *History of Spanish Literature*[1] Ticknor mentions several works of homiletical interest. "Juan de Guzman in 1589 published a formal treatise on Rhetoric, in the seventh dialogue of which he makes an ingenious application of the rules of the Greek and Roman masters to the demands of modern sermonizing in Spanish." . . . "Paton, the author of several works of little value, published in 1604 a crude treatise on 'The Art of Spanish Eloquence,' founded on the rules of the ancients." The critic adds in a footnote: "The extracts from old Spanish books and hints about their authors in this treatise are often valuable, but how wise its practical suggestions are may be inferred from the fact that it recommends an orator to strengthen his memory by anointing his head with a compound made chiefly of bears' grease and white wax."

But among Catholic writers on Homiletics of this period the palm undoubtedly belongs to the eminent Spanish preacher, bishop and devotional writer, Luiz of Granada (1504-1588).[2] His *Rhetor-*

[1] Vol. III., pp. 187, 188.
[2] See my *History of Preaching*, I., 547.

ica Ecclesiastica, or Six Books on the Method of Preaching, is a work of real value alike for its contents and its style and its place in the literature and history of Homiletics. I had the pleasure of reading it in a fine old edition at the *Bibliotheque Nationale* in Paris some years ago. After a dedication to his *alma mater,* the University of Valencia, and a preface giving his reasons for writing, he proceeds to discuss his subject in six books.

Book I. sets forth the origin of rhetoric in the nature of men and things as providentially ordered. Nature is helped and trained by art. Cicero and Aristotle were the ancient masters of rhetoric. The utility and necessity of rhetorical art are argued. Its principles are naturally and easily turned to account by the preacher, just as other natural and necessary things may be turned to the service of God. Chrysostom so used oratory, and Augustine ably treated it in his *De Doctrina Christiana.* The dignity and difficulty of the preacher's office are great, and he must be a man of purity of character and rectitude of intention, pious in spirit and having in mind the glory of God. Let him remember the calls of Jeremiah and Isaiah, and the descent of the Holy Spirit on the Apostles. The preacher must also be zealous in charity, in prayers, in meditation. Book II. takes up rhetoric proper and shows how it differs from logic. Every discourse may be divided into the three parts of Exposition, Argumentation, Amplification. The division of the

question and the sources of arguments are considered; also the forms of argument, induction, syllogism, dilemma, etc.; then the order of arguments; then adornment, accommodation, etc. Book III. is largely devoted to Amplification—its nature as different from argument, its kinds, such as description and others. Book IV. recurs to Arrangement and goes more fully into the discussion of it. The three kinds of oratory are considered and it is urged that a fourth, the *genus didascalicum,* must be added. The preacher will employ all except the judicial, and mainly the didactic. The parts of a speech are six: Exordium, Narration, Proposition, Proof, Confutation, Conclusion. Recurring to the kinds of preaching the author discusses (1) the suasory, corresponding to the deliberative oratory; (2) the demonstrative (panegyrical), as applied to the saints and angels; (3) the narrative (*i. e.,* the gospel, or reading and exposition of Scripture); (4) a mixture of these; and (5) the didactic proper, which is more given to doctrine than to persuasion or appeal. Book V. treats of Style (*elocutio*), where four essentials are enforced: (1) Purity and correctness of language; (2) Perspicuity; (3) Adornment, including a good discussion of tropes and figures; (4) the avoidance of faults of language and expression. Book VI. treats of Delivery (*pronunciatio*), where again four things are discussed: (1) Correction of faults; (2) Clearness of utterance; (3) Elegance of manner; (4) Fitness, *i. e.,* to subject,

occasion, etc. Gesture and movement should be appropriate. In conclusion the author reverts to a number of things necessary to the preacher's highest success. Again he insists on a good life as fundamental. Then the preacher must have due regard to times, occasions, and subjects for fitting speech. Night or early morning is the best time for study. Prayer and meditation are very necessary. Both in preparation and in preaching the thoughts must be directed to Christ alone. A certain Armenian lady was returning with her husband and others from the court of Cyrus, when the conversation turned upon the beauty and grace of the king. This lady being silent, her husband asked what she thought of Cyrus, and she replied with loving modesty, "I was keeping my eyes on thee, my husband, and do not know how other men looked."

Our survey of the development of homiletical theory from its beginning and up to the Reformation has shown us how that theory is both historically and naturally related to general Rhetoric as the art or science of oratory. But it has also shown how impossible it is to consider preaching, with its artistic or theoretical expression, as merely one of the forms of public address. Three great elements of preaching give to it and its theoretical unfolding a distinction which marks off Homiletics from general Rhetoric. These are the origin of preaching in the distinctively religious aims of the Hebrew prophets and of Jesus

and his apostles, the historic unfolding of preaching as a fixed and characteristic element in the worship and work of the Christian religion, and the unique relation of preaching to the Bible considered as the revelation of the mind and will of God for all time. We have seen how these conceptions of preaching gave impulse to the masterly work of Origen as a teacher of the Bible, to the splendid oratory of Chrysostom and other preachers of the fourth century, and to the creative studies of Augustine who first formulated these principles into a system of instruction for preaching as a distinctive work. The earlier Middle Ages added nothing to Augustine's presentation of the theory of preaching. But the rise and dominance of Scholasticism brought in the analytical method. Excess and misuse of this method have at various times demanded reform, but its value is indisputable as an aid to the clear and convincing presentation of truth. In the epoch of the Revival of Learning and the Reformation Humanists, Catholics and Protestants attacked previous errors of homiletical conception and method, and advanced the treatment of homiletical theory to a much higher plane than it had ever occupied. The modern development of Homiletics as a discipline of theological schools is due to the Reformation. The influence of that great movement upon Homiletics requires special treatment, which will be given in the next lecture.

LECTURE V

THE THEORY OF PREACHING AS AFFECTED BY THE REFORMATION IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

We considered in the last lecture the influence of the Revival of Learning on the theory and practice of preaching. The close connection of that great movement with the Reformation is matter of common knowledge. Coming a little later than the Renaissance of Art and the Revival of Letters, the Reformation owed something to both of those mighty forces in accomplishing its own purposes and working out its own results. These purposes and results covered the whole sphere of Christian thought, worship and action, of course including preaching in all its aspects. For preaching is an essential part of worship, is profoundly conversant with religious thought, and proposes as one of its chief ends the effective and practical guidance of Christian character and conduct. Modern preaching, both in practice and theory, received its most powerful and salutary influence from the Protestant Reformation. We are to consider in this lecture how that influence exerted itself in a general way, was revealed in the example and practice of some of the leaders, and expressed itself in a few treatises on preaching

which were produced during the era of the Reformation.

General Influence on Preaching and Its Theory

One of the immediate and lasting effects of the Reformation was that it induced and confirmed a greater respect for preaching as a divinely appointed means of instruction in Christian doctrine and conduct. The relative importance of preaching to the other elements of worship was greatly enhanced. This heightened respect naturally produced a demand for a higher type of pulpit work and this reacted powerfully and favorably on the art and labor of making sermons. In any art aim affects method. In preaching, the higher the aim is conceived to be the better the method must become, and for a better method there must be better training as well as practice. It is true that the Reformation impulse was felt more in the contents than in the form of sermons, but contents also reacted upon form and back of that upon theory, as we shall now see.

One of the most significant, far-reaching and abiding effects of the Reformation on preaching was that it brought in and established a better interpretation and application of Scripture in sermons. On this point I venture to quote at length a paragraph from *Lectures on the History of Preaching* by Dr. John A. Broadus, where, speaking of the Reformation and preaching, he says

(p. 114): "It was a revival of *Biblical preaching*. Instead of long and often fabulous stories about saints and martyrs, and accounts of miracles, instead of passages from Aristotle and Seneca, and fine-spun subtleties of the Schoolmen, these men preached the Bible. The question was not what the Pope said; and even the Fathers, however highly esteemed, were not decisive authority—*it was the Bible*. The preacher's one great task was to set forth the doctrinal and moral teachings of the Word of God. And the greater part of their preaching was expository. Once more, after long centuries, people were reading the Scriptures in their own tongue; and preachers, studying the original Greek and Hebrew, were carefully explaining to the people the connected teachings of passage after passage and book after book. For example, Zwingli, when first beginning his ministry at Zurich, announced his intention to preach, not simply upon the church lessons, but upon the whole Gospel of Matthew, chapter after chapter. Some friends objected that it would be an innovation, and injurious; but he justly said, 'It is the old custom. Call to mind the homilies of Chrysostom on Matthew, and of Augustine on John.' And these sermons of Zwingli's made a great impression. There was also at the basis of this expository preaching by the Reformers a much more strict and reasonable exegesis than had ever been common since the days of Chrysostom. Luther retained something of the love of allegorizing, as

many Lutherans have done to the present day. But Calvin gave the ablest, soundest, clearest expositions of Scripture that had been seen for a thousand years, and most of the other great Reformers worked in the same direction. Such careful and continued exposition of the Bible, based in the main upon sound exegesis, and pursued with loving zeal, could not fail of great results, especially at a time when direct and exact knowledge of Scripture was a most attractive and refreshing novelty. The same sort of effect is to some extent seen in the case of certain useful laborers in our own day, who accomplish so much by Bible readings and highly Biblical preaching. The expository sermons of the Reformers, while in general free, are yet much more *orderly* than those of the Fathers. They have themselves studied the great scholastic works, and been trained in analysis and arrangement, and the minds of all their cultivated hearers have received a similar bent. And so they easily, and almost spontaneously, give their discourses something of plan."

What has been said involves a point which must be emphasized again. It is that the Reformation exemplified and expressed in its preaching a deeper interest in the spiritual life of the people, both as regards doctrine and conduct. The good of the hearers was its predominant aim, it must therefore be adapted in form and language to the hearers. This gave it, when combined with its Biblical content, a decidedly instructive character.

It was more didactic than evangelistic. Naturally this reacted strongly upon the form of preaching, and the reaction was not entirely wholesome, tending to produce a scholastic style of preaching rather than that which was evangelistic and popular. In the homiletics of the Reformation and of the following period this tendency to scholastic treatment of sermon-making shows itself. Among some of the Germans it went to ridiculous extremes, as we shall see in a later lecture.

Practice and Teaching of the Leaders

None of the great outstanding leaders of the Reformation—Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, Knox—left any treatise or definite instruction on the art of preaching. But all of them had something to say about the practice of preaching, and so their example and instructions had much to do in helping others to formulate principles into theory.

Careful and admiring students of Luther have collected and put together a number of the sayings of the great reformer which show that on homiletical subjects as on others he did not lack clear and strong convictions nor the faculty of giving them vigorous expression. These utterances are gathered from Luther's sermons, from his *Table Talk,* and a few from his correspondence. Following chiefly the discussion of Dr. A. Nebe [1] I offer the following brief summary as presenting at least some of Luther's teachings on Homiletics.

[1] *Zur Geschichte der Predigt,* von Dr. A. Nebe, Bd. II., S. 1ff.

(1) Luther held it as a fundamental conception that preaching must have the central place in worship as being the veritable and living Word of God coming through the preacher. It must be, therefore, an exposition and application of the written Word of God as contained in Holy Scripture. In his *Table Talk,* as quoted by Nebe, he says: "I am sure and certain, when I go up to the pulpit to preach or read, that it is not my word I speak, but that my tongue is the pen of a ready writer, as the Psalmist has it. God speaks in the prophets, and men of God, as St. Peter in his epistle says: The holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. Therefore, we must not separate or part God and man, according to our natural reason or understanding. In like manner every hearer must say: I hear not St. Paul, St. Peter, or a man speak, but God Himself."

(2) In regard to the training and skill of the preacher as speaker he should be master of the art of public address. In several places Luther declares that the preacher should be master of both logic and rhetoric. Thus again in the *Table Talk* he says: "A preacher should be a logician and a rhetorician; that is, he must be able to teach and to admonish. When he preaches touching an article he must, first, distinguish it. Secondly, he must define, describe and show what it is. Thirdly, he must produce sentences out of Scriptures, therewith to prove and strengthen it. Fourthly, he must with examples explain and declare it.

Fifthly, he must adorn it with similitudes; and, lastly, he must admonish and rouse up the lazy, earnestly reprove all the disobedient, all false doctrine, and the authors thereof." And in one of his *House-postils* (as quoted by Nebe) he declares: "Dialectic is the body, rhetoric is the dress with which the body is adorned." These quotations show that Luther deemed it highly important, if not essential, that the preacher should be well grounded in the accepted rules of reasoning and expression. The application and use of these principles in preaching are defined and ennobled by the nature of preaching itself as a message from God and consisting chiefly of the exposition and enforcement of His Word.

(3) Luther repeatedly teaches that the aim of preaching is the spiritual good of the hearers. The preacher therefore must reach his hearers with his message. His art and skill must be such as to enlighten and persuade those who listen. He must use words which they can understand; a method of speech adapted to the particular audience and occasion, as these may vary. He must have a deliberate utterance, so as to give the hearer time to catch what is said. Yet the preacher should not draw out his discourse to such length as to weary his hearers. He must speak with authority, yet not sharply nor angrily; with courage, yet not boastfully; cheerfully, not gloomily.

(4) In regard to the general form of discourse the main thing in Luther's esteem was the sub-

ject, or proposition. This should of course be Biblical in substance and definite in the preacher's own mind. The elaboration of it, as already said, should be chiefly in the way of interpretation and application of Scripture. Introductions and conclusions should not be too elaborate, but brief and pointed.

(5) As to preparation and delivery Luther's own practice varied, and his suggestions to others seem to have been in line with his own methods. Two things, however, stand out clearly: There must be careful preparation of some sort; and there must be freedom in delivery. A few of his sermons were written out beforehand, many were spoken from more or less full notes, but all (it appears) were *spoken* and not *read*. Luther held that a well-trained preacher should out of a full mind and heart be able to speak clearly and instructively on the basis of the Word of God. In brief and in general, according to Luther, *a preacher should be able to preach.* In his case it is not right that there should be *viel Reden und nichts reden*—much speech and nothing to speak!

In the case of Calvin we have less information on the point of his homiletical opinions and teachings than in that of Luther. In the long lists of Calvin's works I have not found any titles to indicate that he wrote definitely on the art of preaching or gave it special attention in his writings on other subjects. Nor have I found that any of his many students and admirers have culled out from

his works and put together, as in Luther's case, any summary of his views on the theory of preaching. But Calvin's practice was a living and powerful example to the students at Geneva and to his followers everywhere, and it is hardly to be doubted that in his instructions some were included which bore, at least indirectly, upon the homiletical side of the training of ministers for their work.

Calvin's own views and practice in regard to preaching are easily discovered and well known. Like all the great reformers he gave to preaching the central place in worship and taught that it must be in spirit and in fact an exposition and application of the Word of God. His sermons were chiefly expository, and his exposition was wonderfully acute, clear, reasoned and sound. In form his sermons are like the ancient homily, consisting of verse by verse comment, but his logical and trained intellect gave both unity of theme and connection of thought to his discourses. In style Calvin was later criticized by some famous Frenchman—Bossuet, I think—as *triste,* that is, so serious as to be heavy, wanting in charm and cheerfulness. The point is probably well taken, but other critics have much to say in commendation of the clearness, force and power of Calvin's style. His main object was to explain and convince, and his manner of speaking was eminently suited to this purpose. He does not seem to have written his sermons before or after delivery, but they were

taken down by reporters and preserved in that way. His delivery has been described as deliberate and forcible, not glowing but earnest and impressive.

As to the Swiss Reformers, I do not recall any definite homiletical teaching from my slight reading in the works of Zwingli or Bullinger. Yet it cannot be supposed that Bullinger could wholly have neglected this element of teaching in his work with the young preachers at Zurich. And both of them agreed with the other reformers in their estimate of preaching as being the main element in worship, and as consisting chiefly of explanation and enforcement of Scripture.

Among the English Reformers the subject received some attention, for as early as 1613 we find a translation into English of a Latin treatise on "The Art of Prophecying," which was of course written earlier and shows a good grasp of the matter. The book was written by William Perkins, and appears to have been the first homiletical treatise by an English author. It will receive fuller notice further on. Here it is sufficient to remark in general terms that the leaders of the Reformation in England were in accord with their brethren on the Continent in their foundation principle as to what true Christian preaching ought to be. I venture to quote here words of my own in another place:[1] "In 1534 a set of instructions was drawn up (probably by Cranmer him-

[1] *History of Preaching*, Vol. I., 378.

self) and sent to all the bishops for the guidance of the clergy. One of the items is as follows: 'That from henceforth all preachers shall purely, sincerely, and justly preach the Scripture and Word of Christ, and not mix them up with man's institutions, nor make them believe that the force of God's law and man's law is like; nor that any man is able or hath power to dispense with God's law.' Latimer, in his third sermon on the Lord's Prayer, thus speaks: 'And because the Word of God is the instrument and fountain of all good things, we pray to God for the continuance of His word; that He will send godly and well learned men amongst us, which may be able to declare us His will and pleasure; so that we may glorify Him in the hour of our visitation, when God shall visit us, and reward every one according unto his desert.' "

In general we may remark that while the reformers laid more stress on the *content* and *aim* of preaching than on its *form* and *method,* they did not wholly neglect these either in their example or their teaching. They seemed to take it for granted that in requiring skill and training for a proper study and proclamation of the Word of God they were demanding that the preacher should both know and know how to use the accepted and tested principles of rhetoric as these were applicable to the preparation and delivery of sermons. Nor was the formal discussion of the subject wholly neglected, as we shall now see.

Treatises on the Art of Preaching

In studying the homiletical teaching of the Reformation we come first upon two little works of Philip Melanchthon (1497-1560), written in Latin under the titles *Elementorum Rhetorices Libri Duo,* and *Ratio Brevissima Concionandi.* The theologian of the Reformation and friend of Luther was born and educated in South Germany. He was kinsman and pupil of Reuchlin, received excellent education, had the scholar's bent, became the distinguished professor at Wittenberg, and the teacher of multitudes of Protestant preachers and teachers. In his subjects of instruction at Wittenberg rhetoric was included—of course with application to preaching. Among his writings there exists in several editions, and with some variation of title, the compendious treatise on rhetoric mentioned above.[1] Some of the editions give it in two and some in three books. It contains nothing original or profound. It follows the accepted canons of the classical rhetoric, of course with application to preaching. It discusses, in its three general divisions, Invention, Arrangement (*Dispositio*), and Style (*Elocutio*). In the introduction the author adds the other two "offices": Memory and Delivery *(Pronunciatio),* but does not enlarge upon them in the treatment. Under Invention he treats the three kinds of ora-

[1] By courtesy of the Library of Princeton Theological Seminary I was enabled to read the original in Vol. XIII of Bretschneider's *Corpus Reformatorum,* Halle, 1846.

tory—forensic, deliberative, demonstrative (or epideictic), and insists that there must be added the *genus didascalicum,* which embraces preaching. Under Disposition (which is necessary for victory and clearness) he gives examples from Demosthenes and Cicero, and from the Epistle to the Romans. He insists that the arrangement should be logical. Under Style (*Elocutio*) Melanchthon considers the three topics of Grammar, Figures (to which he devotes a very good discussion), and Amplification—where he refers with appreciation to the *Copia* of Erasmus. The work is of trifling importance in itself, but shows that the Reformers gave attention in their education of preachers to the principles of homiletics as based on rhetoric.

Besides this treatise on rhetoric mention is made of a smaller work by Melanchthon more definitely homiletical in character. Translated the title runs *A Very Brief Method of Preaching;* and the contents are summarized by Kidder[1] as follows: I. The different parts of a discourse: (1) Exordium; (2) Narration; (3) Proposition; (4) Arguments; (5) Confirmation; (6) Ornaments; (7) Amplification; (8) Confutation; (9) Epilogue; (10) Peroration. II. Simple themes—with examples. III. Complex themes. IV. Explanation of different meanings. V. An example of deliberative discourse. Remarks: 1. The principal work of the preacher is to instruct.

[1] *Homiletics,* p. 438.

2. There are two kinds of sermons: (1) Didactic; (2) Demonstrative. 3. Of the four senses of Scripture. 4. On method.

Neither of these works has any other than a historic value or interest. They are dry compends, without originality or warmth, ill arranged in form, and scholastic in style.

By far the most original and significant work by any early Protestant writer on homiletics is that of Andrew Hyperius (1511-1564).[1] Andrew Gerard (Andreas Gerardus), better known as Hyperius from his birth-place, was born at Ypres in Flanders, May 16, 1511, to a lawyer of learning and distinction, whose name he inherited. His mother was of an excellent family of Ghent. The boy enjoyed the best early advantages of education, worked for awhile in his father's office, and then took his degree at the University of Paris, where rhetoric and logic were among his favorite studies. After taking his degree he took post-graduate work in theology at the Sorbonne, intending to enter the church. But he had become touched with the ideas of the Reformation, and the archbishop of Louvain refused to confirm his appointment to a professorship at the University. On this Hyperius went to England and taught there for four years. As yet Henry VIII. had not

1 *Andreas Hyperius, voornamelik als Homileet;* door P. Biesterveld, Kampen, 1895. An excellent study of Hyperius in form of an inaugural address (expanded for publication) by the author on becoming Rector of the School of the Reformed Church in Holland.

broken with Rome, and the young Hollander's infection with Luther's doctrines being suspected he was required to leave England. In some way he was led to Marburg in Hesse, where an old friend of his, Geldenhauer, was one of the leading teachers in the Protestant school. Here Hyperius was welcomed, and found his life-work. On Geldenhauer's death he succeeded to the principalship, and remained at Marburg during the rest of his life, a beloved teacher and preacher and leader in the religious affairs of Hesse. His type of theology was more Calvinistic than Lutheran, and he was therefore somewhat underestimated among the rigid Protestants, but he was much beloved and very influential in the church life of the principality.

Hyperius was an all-round scholar. His lectures and works in exegetical, systematic and practical theology were useful and justly noted. He wrote two homiletical books: (1) *De Formandis Concionibus Sacris, seu de interpretatione sacrae scripturae populari libri duo;* and (2) *Topica Theologica.* The second is really an appendix to the first and contains, after the manner of the older Homiletics, a list of subjects for preaching with suggestions for their suitable treatment. This has no permanent value, and by his making it into a separate treatise it is possible that Hyperius was already beginning to feel the drift away from this as a necessary part of homiletical instruction. But the earlier treatise, *On the Mak-*

ing of Sacred Discourses, was and remains a work of the first importance in the development of Homiletics. Writers like Christlieb, Th. Harnack, and others, do not hesitate to pronounce this work of Hyperius as the first really "scientific" treatise on the theory of preaching. In the preface (dated Oct., 1552) the author says that the book was written at the request of many candidates for the ministry who had heard him lecture and preach at Marburg.

The work consists of two books of sixteen chapters each. The First Book treats of the general principles of the art of preaching; the Second Book of the particular parts of the art. Certainly this division of the matter is not very "scientific" or logical. It reminds us of the course adopted by Erasmus in the two principal Books of his treatise, and may indeed have simply followed that work. Also the exact subdivision of the two Books into sixteen smaller divisions each smacks rather of artifice than art; but surely we can do nothing else than follow the division which the author himself lays down.

Book I. Here without a heading the general principles of Homiletics are presented. Chapter 1 sets forth the distinction between the "popular" interpretation of Scripture and the "scholastic." The latter has place in the schools, as academic discussion for students and teachers. The popular method is for the instruction of the common people and has place in the pulpit and must be

adapted to its end. The author has treated the academic method in other works—this is given to the popular. But before going into the discussion he proceeds (after Erasmus) to consider the dignity and value of the preacher's office. Chapter 2 takes up this topic and points out three requisites in the preacher: (1) Knowledge *(doctrina)*, and not only of Scripture and theology, but of all truth and current affairs. (2) Purity of morals. His life must be a seal to his teaching. (3) Ability to teach—power to set forth sound doctrine clearly and attractively. Chapter 3 takes up the aim of preaching, which is none other than to labor with all zeal and energy for the salvation of sinners and their reconciliation to God. Chapter 4 discusses the points which the preacher has in common with other public speakers. The author refers to Augustine's treatment and names the five elements *(inventio, dispositio, elocutio, memoria, pronunciatio)*, the three aims of discourse *(docere, delectere, flectere)*, and the three kinds of eloquence (sublime, humble, medium). These general principles of discourse must be wisely applied to the peculiar needs of preaching. Chapter 5 tells of the choice of texts. The servant of the word is compared by Christ to a wise householder, and by Paul to a steward of divine mysteries. Hence the main principle in his choice of Scriptural themes must be what is useful, easy and necessary. These points, with their necessary qualifications, are sensibly discussed.

Chapter 6 treats judiciously the form of sermons, and points out that they should be (1) short, (2) clear in language, (3) well outlined. Hard study and careful previous preparation are needed. Chapter 7 discourses of the kinds of sermons, of propositions, of the forms of themes. Hyperius rejects, as unmeaning for the preacher, the accepted division of rhetoric into judicial, deliberative, and demonstrative, and seeks to found his division upon Scripture as given in 2 Tim. 3:16 and Rom. 15:4. From these passages he works out a scheme of the kinds of pulpit discourse into five, which he gives in both Greek and Latin terms, but which we may translate as follows: Doctrinal (or Didactic), Argumentative, Institutive,[1] Corrective, and Consolatory. These may be reduced to three, which he names in Greek terms as they relate to Knowledge, Practice and Comfort; but it is better for clearness to retain the five as pointed out, and even to add a sixth, the Mixed, according as two or more of these may be combined in one discourse. Proceeding to discuss propositions and their statement he shows that these are merely brief statements of the whole matter to be discussed, and that their kinds necessarily correspond to the kinds of discourses just considered. Themes may in their statement be either "simple" or "composite," according as they are put in one or more *dictiones* or terms.

[1] Not a happy term, he afterwards explains that it includes both the deliberative and demonstrative genera of the secular rhetoric so far as available for preaching.

Chapters 8 and 9 treat of the parts of sermons, or rather of the sermon service, since he includes the reading of the Scripture and the invocation. After these come the exordium, the proposition or division, proof *(confirmatio)*, refutation, and conclusion. Chapters 10 to 14 discuss these in the order given. The discussion is judicious and excellent, but need not be detailed, as it gives nothing especially new or profound. Chapter 15 treats of amplification. Hyperius does not highly regard the rhetorical devices usually practiced here, since the preacher must not exaggerate nor diminish the truth for effect. But amplification for emphasis, for getting things in their right proportion, for impressing the importance of neglected truth, etc., is highly important and should be carefully studied and practiced. With caution the usual rhetorical methods may then be employed. Chapter 16 gives careful and admirable treatment to the matter of moving the feelings in preaching. The aim of the preacher should of course be not mere excitement, but the production of spiritual fruit and the awakening and improvement of the spiritual life. He gives an enumeration of the feelings usually sought to be aroused by orators. Some of these the preacher should leave alone. He is naturally concerned chiefly with those which stand in closest relations with the subjects which he discusses. The preacher must keep close to life. He has more freedom than the advocate. He must himself feel what he urges, getting in full

touch with his subject. His manner must be controlled and appropriate. Hyperius shows how the various kinds of feeling may be properly approached and aroused. The preacher must be master in the use of the various figures of speech, which help in this matter. Many examples are given from Scripture of proper appeal to feeling.

Book II. takes up the subject of Particular Application of General Principles. Really this is a discussion of the various kinds of sermons, as pointed out before, and the best methods of composing and delivering them. Chapter 1 treats of the importance of having clear ideas of which kind the particular sermon belongs to. Chapter 2 teaches that in each genus one must seek the things peculiar to that genus, finding the appropriate arguments, illustrations, etc. Chapter 3 shows how the various kinds of sermons may be preached from the same passage of Scripture, using Mark 8 as an example. Chapters 4 to 7 give a number of excellent hints on the interpretation and handling of Scripture themes and texts. "One of the chief virtues of the preacher is to explain the Scripture with his eye on the circumstances of the times." Thus the allegorical interpretation is discredited. He must be sure that the theme is really derived from the text, and that its lessons are correctly applied. Chapter 8 exemplifies how a "simple" theme of the "didactic" sort may be handled. Chapter 9 does the like for a "complex" theme. Chapter 10 discusses at length and with excellent

judgment how a preacher should apply Scripture themes and texts to his own times. This is really his main business. He must avoid far-fetched and strained applications, and deal honestly both with the word of God and his audience. The author also takes occasion to give a sharp and deserved rebuke to plagiarism. Chapters 11 to 14 treat with care and sense examples of preaching under the *genera* Argumentative, Institutive, Corrective and Consolatory. Chapter 15 treats of the *genus mixtum,* where two or more of these kinds are exemplified—as must often happen—in one sermon. Chapter 16 closes the work in emphasizing three very necessary things which the preacher must ever have in mind: (1) The needs of his hearers; (2) decorum in speech and conduct; (3) the peace and unity of the church. The earnest prayers of both preachers and hearers for God's blessing on the work are urged.

This truly great work of Hyperius marks an epoch in homiletical writing. As a fact the book does not seem to have had as wide use as its merits demanded. Yet there are traces of its influence upon other writers, and no doubt its principles found some dissemination in the teaching of the schools. The Humanists, including Melanchthon, had criticized and rejected the errors and extremes of the scholastic homiletics, but they had taught rhetoric as applied to preaching. Hyperius went further and taught preaching only as related to rhetoric.

After him, especially in the seventeenth century, Protestant Homiletics fell into the slough of scholasticism. Cold and minute analysis and refinement, with little adaptation to life and need, was the order of the time. Traces of this degeneracy appear already in some of the books of the latter part of our period. Christlieb, Lentz, Biesterveld and others mention various works (which I have not seen) as having some vogue in the latter part of the sixteenth century. Among them those of Hieronymus Weller (1562), Nic. Hemming (1556), Andrew Pancratius (1574), L. Osiander (1582), Jac. Andreae (1595), Aegidius Hunnius (1604). Of these one of the most important was that of Pancratius, who taught the distinction of "textual" and "thematic" sermons, and seems to have given start and vogue to the scholastic tendency which reigned soon after him. Next in value was the work of Hunnius, who set himself against this trend, and taught a more reasonable and Scriptural method of making sermons. But none of these treatises can be compared in value with that of Hyperius.

In England, as we have already seen, the theory of preaching received some notice at the hands of the reformers, and there was at least one treatise devoted to the subject. It was written in Latin and early in the seventeenth century done into English. But because of its date and the fact that Latin was deemed the suitable language for its promulgation it clearly belongs to the reforma-

tory period. The author, William Perkins (1558-1602), was an eminent scholar and divine of the English Church. He had been wild in youth, but was a brilliant student and received his university training at Cambridge. He was thoroughly converted while at the University and gave himself to the ministry, receiving ordination at the age of twenty-four. He became rector of the parish of St. Andrews at Cambridge and was recognized and esteemed as a devoted pastor and faithful preacher of the Word. It was said of him that "while his discourses were suited to the capacity of the common people, the pious scholar could not but admire them." Certainly this was no slight qualification for writing a book on the art of preaching.

I have seen neither the Latin original nor the English translation, and am indebted to Kidder [1] for what is here stated. It appears that the book is now very rare even in its English dress. The full title page is: "Arte of Prophecying, or a treatise concerning the sacred and only true manner and method of preaching; first written in Latin by Mr. William Perkins, and now faithfully translated into English (for that it containeth many worthy things fit for the knowledge of men of all degrees) by Thomas Tuke. Motto, Nehemiah 8:4-6. Cambridge, 1613." In the dedication the author thus speaks of the "Science" of preaching: "The dignitie thereof appeareth in that like

[1] *Homiletics*, p. 440.

a Ladie it is highly mounted and carried aloft in a chariot; whereas all other gifts, both of tongues and arts, attend on this like handmaides aloofe off." There are eleven chapters, of which the subjects are as follows: The Art or faculty of prophecying is a sacred doctrine of exercising Prophecie rightly; Of the Preaching of the Word; of the Word of God; Of the Interpretation of the Scriptures; Of the waies of expounding; Of the right dividing of the Word; Of the waies how to use and apply doctrines; Of the kinds of application, either mental or practical; Of memorie in preaching; Promulgation or uttering of the Sermon; Of conceiving of prayer. From this list we judge that the book treats more of the interpretation and use of Scripture than of the rules and principles of sermon composition and delivery. But it must be said that the author's interest in the subject was rather practical than academic, and that his book, though now valuable only as a historic relic, no doubt served useful purposes in its day.

LECTURE VI

THE THEORY OF PREACHING AS TAUGHT DURING THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

JUDGING by the volume and character of the literature devoted to it, the modern development of homiletical theory is by far the most important of all. In modern times Homiletics has come to be recognized as one of the greater departments of accepted theological discipline. It is no longer an incidental and subordinate part of Practical Theology. This result is not an accident, but the inevitable outcome of the movements and forces which we have been discussing in the previous lectures, especially those of the Reformation period. The highest point of this progress in homiletical teaching was reached in the nineteenth century (especially its latter part), but before that there was a gradual and notable development during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries which we are to sketch in this lecture.

The Seventeenth Century

The conditions of thought and of preaching during this century varied much with the different countries. There was not much worth noting in

Spain. In Italy the elder Segneri introduced a new mode of preaching, after the French models. Germany was desolated by the Thirty Years' War, and yet Pietism arose with its new impulse upon Christian life and preaching. Holland showed activity in theological thought, but not remarkable results in preaching. In England it was the turbulent era of the Stuarts and the Commonwealth, and yet of the great classic preachers among Churchmen, Puritans and Dissenters. In France the Edict of Nantes gave impulse to Protestant preaching, and this stimulated the Catholic pulpit which reached its classic glory in the age of Louis XIV. Among all these peoples there was development of theory as well as practice in the art of preaching, as we shall now see.

In neither Spain nor Italy was there any work of especial importance, but several, either in Latin or the vernaculars, of Spanish or Italian authorship are mentioned by the authorities[1] as falling within the seventeenth century. One of these was by Joseph of Segovia (date unknown), *On Evangelical Preaching,* and one by F. B. Ferrario of Milan (1620), *On the Rite of Sacred Discourse.* Mention is also made of an *Apparatus Conciona-*

[1] The authorities mainly consulted for this lecture are: Daniel P. Kidder, *Treatise on Homiletics,* Appendix B, p. 439ff.; *Herzog's Real-encyclopädie,* article on Homiletics by Christlieb; Wetzer and Welte, *Kirchenlexikon,* article on Homiletics; J. J. Van Oosterzee, *Practical Theology,* p. 114ff.; Lentz, *Geschichte der Homiletik;* Hering, *Geschichte der Predigt.* These will be referred to simply by name when necessary. Others will be named when used.

torum by Labata Francesco, a notable Spanish preacher, who died in 1621. Besides these, several works with Italian titles are mentioned by Kidder and others as having appeared during the seventeenth century.

It thus appears that the Catholics of Spain and Italy during this period did not wholly neglect homiletical writing, but as their treatises were few and have never become distinguished we may safely infer that they were of no great value or originality.

In France the case is quite different; for while the number of treatises is not great there are several of exceptional value. Étienne Gaussen, a notable Reformed theologian and professor at Saumur (died 1675), published among other valuable theological works a treatise in Latin, *De Ratione Concionandi,* which has been highly praised for good sense and sound principles. The famous and beloved Protestant preacher, Jean Claude, produced an *Essay on the Composition of a Sermon,* which was first published after his death in 1688, and has been much used and translated. Claude (1619-1687) was one of the greatest and best of the early French Protestants. His father before him was a Protestant. The young man was carefully educated, and after his first pastorate he was called, in 1654, to Nismes, where he served with fidelity for a number of years. In 1666 he served at Paris and was the leading man among the Protestants. It was during this time that he

had his famous controversy with Bossuet, the great Catholic orator. At the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 Claude was banished. He lived in exile in Holland two years more. He was a great man and a noble character. His *Essay on the Composition of a Sermon,* in spite of some faults, had a great vogue in its time and for many years afterward. It was translated into English by Robert Robinson, the famous Cambridge preacher, and has been widely influential in both England and America. While he was pastor at Nismes he instructed a class of candidates for the ministry, and it is probable that at this time his ideas on preaching were wrought out. These were not reduced to writing until near the end of his life. The work remained in manuscript and was published after the author's death. Several English editions appeared. The one here quoted is an abridgement from Robinson's translation in a little volume by Edward Williams, called *The Christian Preacher.*

The substance of the work is as follows: There are three principal parts of discourse—exordium, discussion and application. To these should be added connection and division, making five in all. Some preliminary words are spoken on the choice of a text: "(1) It must have a complete sense; (2) the sermon should stop with this; both too much and too little are to be avoided; (3) it should be suitable to the occasion." On this last point the preacher should consider times and places, and

for the latter should not choose odd texts for display, nor too profound ones, nor those which imply censure. Then follow some general rules as to explanation of Scripture. Next he says: "One of the most important precepts for the discussion of a text and the composition of a sermon is above all things to avoid excesses." He goes on to specify that there must not be too much genius, that is, of intellectual display. The sermon must not be overcharged with doctrine, nor strained on particular points. Figures must not be overstrained, nor should reasoning be carried too far. Neither should there be too much of the minutiæ of grammar, criticism, language, etc., for this makes sermons pedantic and tiresome.

As to divisions Claude teaches that there should not be too many. They should never exceed four or five; two or three are best. They may come either from the text or from the subject suggested by the text. "As to the division of the text itself sometimes the order of the words is so clear and natural that no division is necessary; you need only follow simply the order of the words." Suggestions follow as to the management of division and subdivisions. Then comes a long discussion of particular rules growing out of these general principles. These are grouped under the general heads of Explication and Observation. Explication is the unfolding of the meaning of the text, both its terms and its thought. As to observation, the meaning of the text is often clear, and observa-

tion then is the only way of treatment, especially in case of historical texts. Some texts require both explication and observation in different degrees. Observations for the most part ought to be theoretical, that is, doctrinal. But they should not be scholastic on the one hand nor too commonplace on the other. These principles are illustrated at length by many examples showing how to carry out the principles in practice. Following this there is some repetition of thoughts already given, with added notice of making application and of stating propositions.

Claude briefly treats of exordium and conclusion. "The principal use of an exordium is to prepare the hearer's mind for the particular matters you have to treat of, and insensibly to conduct him to them." Sensible suggestions are offered as to the brevity, clearness and attractiveness of introductions. As to the conclusion he says: "The conclusion should be lively and animating, full of great and beautiful figures, aiming to move Christian affections." He discusses these suggestions and in conclusion makes some general remarks on the need of variety, soberness and other qualities of good preaching.

The work of Claude is very judicially appraised by Vinet,[1] who says that it has both a practical and a historic interest because it not only offers many valuable hints, but shows the ideas of preaching held at the time. He justly criticized Claude's

[1] *Histoire de la Prédication parmi les Réformés*, p. 344ff.

ideas of invention both in the long and elaborate principles which he lays down, and the numerous examples given of how to compose sermons. Vinet wisely observes that this method hinders rather than helps invention, especially in young preachers, who should learn to think for themselves and work out their own methods and outlines. He sums up by saying: "Claude's book has without doubt had a great influence and one may in part attribute to it those preachings of commonplace form and facile method which are all alike in their tastelessness and nullity; yet with these reserves made we can recommend the reading of it. One will find in it many important observations, many just and sagacious ideas which one would not find in a rhetorician, and which are the fruit of experience."

Among French Catholics in the earlier part of the century there were found homiletical teachings in the works of St. Vincent de Paul (died 1660) and St. Francis de Sales (1622), but no technical works are mentioned by the authors whom I have studied.

Almost at the end of the century the celebrated Archbishop of Cambrai, Fénélon, wrote his famous and valuable *Dialogues on Eloquence*.[1] Fénélon was himself a preacher of great eloquence and unction, and a man of saintly character. He did not write out his sermons, but the accounts of his

[1] *Dialogues sur l'Éloquence.* There are various editions and translations.

eloquence are full of recognition of his unusual powers in the pulpit. His little work on *Eloquence,* particularly referring to the eloquence of the pulpit, has a deserved fame and is still read and highly esteemed by students of the subject. A brief summary of the little book is here given. There are three interlocutors. *A* represents the views of the author; *B* is the learner, with many wrong views but willing to be taught and finally agreeing with his teacher; *C* is the interested third party who puts in occasionally a side remark, but in the main coincides with *A*. The work thus openly follows the classical style as shown in many well-known writings.

There are three Dialogues. The first discredits the eloquence which is mainly for show and pleasure, and defends the view that the true aim of eloquence is to instruct the intelligence and improve the morals of the hearers. This of course is preeminently the aim of preaching. The author shows that this was the better theory and practice of the ancients, and sustains his argument by reference to Isocrates and Demosthenes as orators and to the writings of Plato, Aristotle and Cicero.

The second Dialogue shows that in order to reach this end the orator must *prove, picture* and *move.* That is, he must appeal to the reason, the imagination and the feelings. This leads to the discussion of divisions and delivery. In regard to the latter and in accord with his own practice, Fénélon prefers the extemporaneous method after

careful preparation. This conduces best to the true ends of eloquence. Also one should avoid useless and catchy ornaments. He should also avoid an extravagant overwrought delivery. On this point the author well says: "Nothing appears to me so shocking and so absurd as to see a man who torments himself to tell me cold things. While he is perspiring he is freezing my blood."

The third Dialogue takes up the matter of interpreting Scripture. The author shows that the Scripture itself presents models of eloquence. Much of this is plainly derived from Augustine. But the author discards and discredits the allegoric method of interpretation and commends Chrysostom's manner of using Scripture, though criticizing him for diffuseness and other faults. He follows Augustine in discussing the prophets (especially Amos) and the apostle Paul. He shows how the Fathers practiced or fell short of the true principles. At the end the author discusses panegyrics, which should conform to the principles laid down, and concludes with a quotation from Jerome: "Be not a declaimer, but a true teacher of the mysteries of God."

In Germany, though the times were distressing, there was among all three of the leading branches of Christian opinion—Catholic, Lutheran and Reformed—a good deal of homiletical teaching and writing.[1] A few of the more important works may be mentioned. The way was led by Felix

[1] Mentioned by Lentz, Christlieb and others.

Bidenbach in 1603 with a *Manual for Ministers.* Chr. Schleupner (died 1634) followed with a *Treatise Concerning the Four-Fold Method of Preaching.* The book was written in Latin. He names the four methods as follows: The heroic or theandric, the textual or periphrastic, the local or articulate, and the thematic or Pancratian, after Pancratius, whose name was mentioned in the previous lecture. This mechanical scholastic method was pushed to extremes by several writers who followed. Lentz gives an interesting and amusing outline and criticism of the treatise of one Foerster, who enumerates and describes twenty-five different ways of preaching as follows: prosopopic, historic, topic, gnomic, periphrastic, peristatic, catechetic, syncretic, aetiologic, iatric, rhematic, textual, canonic (or aphoristic), allegoric, disputatory, dialogic, of terms, toposynoptic, zetematic, lexipractic, parallelitic, scenic, didascalic, mixed, and paradeigmatic! This learned foolery was carried still further by J. B. Carpzov, the elder who thought out and named in his treatise published at Leipzig in 1656, one hundred ways of preaching like unto these. Later the younger Carpzov revised and abbreviated this book. A better and more evangelical tendency was represented in Keckermann, a Reformed preacher, who published in 1614 a much used *Ecclesiastical Rhetoric.* Others among the Lutherans wrote treatises with more of practical and religious value, of whom Lentz mentions Balduin (1621),

Chemnitz (1666), Goebel (1672), and Baier (1677). Among these authors the term homiletics came more and more into use to designate the art of preaching. A few German Catholic authors also belonged to this period, but none of their works appears to have gained distinction.

In Holland[1] John Hoornbeek published in 1645 a *Treatise on the Method of Preaching,* which Van Oosterzee characterizes as the first original work on Homiletics published on Dutch soil. It, however, as was usual in that time, was written in Latin. This work was based chiefly on the principles of Gisbert Voetius (died 1676), and the dry scholastic method which it expounds is called Voetian. A better method was introduced and furthered by the celebrated theologian, Cocceius (died 1669), but its development belongs rather to the next century.

In these German and Dutch treatises of the period under review there are two distinct homiletic tendencies: (1) The scholastic, which was mechanical, artificial, academic, tedious and dry; and (2) the more Scriptural and evangelical, which showed greater reality and spiritual power. But even this did not free itself wholly from the dry method and spirit of the age. Nothing of any value was added in this mass of writing to the theory and practice of preaching. It merely continued the principles of the past and prepared for a reaction toward more wholesome and sound

[1] Van Oosterzee, p. 146.

modes of treatment. As already pointed out one surviving point of interest is the use of the term Homiletics.

In England, as we saw in the last lecture, what appears to have been the first treatise on the art of preaching was that of William Perkins, which was originally written in Latin but translated into English and published in 1613 by Thomas Tuke. Several other works of less interest followed this, and in 1667 there was published a work which bore the title, *Ecclesiastes,* or a *Discourse on the Gift of Preaching as It Falls Under the Rules of Art,* by John Wilkins, D.D., Lord Bishop of Chester.[1] Bishop Wilkins (1614-1672) was a notable man. He entered Oxford at the age of thirteen, and took his M.A. degree in regular course. In the great struggle between king and parliament he sided against the king and married a sister of Cromwell, by whom he was restored to his position in the Church of England. At the restoration he was ejected, but later reinstated and made Bishop of Chester in 1668. His merits and not political influence brought him his appointments. He was a friend of Tillotson, at whose house he died. He was highly esteemed and praised by Bishop Burnet as: "A man of as great a mind, as true a judgment, as eminent virtues, and of as good a soul as any he ever knew. He was a lover of mankind and delighted in doing good." He wrote and pub-

[1] See *The Christian Preacher,* a collection by Ed. Williams, London, 1800 and 1843.

lished a number of works of practical value in every time, not the least important or useful of which was this work on preaching. Though naturally written in the dry scholastic manner and running to minute analysis and subdivisions, the book is one of real interest and value. Some quotations and condensations will give a taste of its quality.

Bishop Wilkins begins by saying: "It is the end of all sciences and arts to direct men by certain rules to the most compendious ways of knowledge and practice. . . . Amongst all other callings, therefore, this of preaching, being in many respects one of the most weighty and solemn, should have its rules whereby we may be directed to the easiest and readiest way for the perfection of it. . . . There are two qualities requisite in every preacher—a right understanding of sound doctrine, and an ability to propound, confirm and apply it to the edification of others. . . . This service of preaching may be considered under a double notion—as a duty, and a gift. It is here insisted upon only in the second sense. . . . It requires both spiritual and artificial abilities: (1) Such spiritual abilities as must be infused from above. . . . (2) Such artificial abilities as are to be acquired by our own industry; and these are either more general, as skill in all those arts and languages which are required as prerequisites, or more particular and important for the art of preaching, to which the general helps are these

three: "Method, Matter, and Expression. These contribute mutual assistance to one another. A good method will direct to proper matter, and suitable matter will invite good expression." On the basis of this clear statement the author proceeds to discuss with excellent judgment the three topics of his treatise.

As to method he describes it as: "An art of contriving our discourses on such a regular plan that every part may have its due place and dependence. This will be a great advantage both to ourselves and our hearers." He discusses these advantages briefly, and under the second says: "An immethodical discourse, though the materials of it may be precious, is but as a heap, full of confusion and deformity; the other as a fabric or building much more excellent both for beauty and use." Further, on method he says: "The principal scope of a divine orator should be to teach clearly, convince strongly and persuade powerfully; and suitable to these are the chief parts of a sermon: explication, confirmation and application. Besides these more essential parts which belong to the very nature and substance of a sermon there are less principal parts not to be included, which concern the external form of it—such as the preface, transitions, and conclusion." The author has some wise things to say about these, and then takes up and discusses with sound judgment and very clearly the main points of Explication (or interpretation of Scripture), Con-

firmation (or argument), and Application, which he declares to be: "The life and soul of a sermon; whereby these sacred truths are brought home to a man's consciousness and particular occasions, and the affections engaged in favor of any truth or duty." He distinguishes applications as doctrinal and practical and gives a few good precepts on the Conclusion.

As to Matter the good bishop says the preacher must consider the conditions of his people and give himself to prayer, reading, meditation and study. As to Expression he says: "There are two things to be considered—phrase and elocution," by which, of course, he means style and delivery. He says: "The phrase should be plain, full, wholesome and affectionate." By the last he means full of feeling, and describes it "as proceeding from the heart and an experimental acquaintance with those truths which we deliver." As to the Elocution (or delivery) he cautions that there are two extremes to be avoided—too much bluntness and too much fear.

The last important English work of this century was an *Essay Concerning Preaching,* written for the direction of a young divine by Joseph Glanvil Prebendary of Worcester and published in 1678. Kidder calls it "a plain and sensible treatise," but gives no particulars. I have not seen this work.

Besides these few treatises there were other homiletical instructions in English during the

seventeenth century. In their charges to the clergy the bishops gave general advices on preaching with frequent particular hints, but not properly technical teaching of Homiletics. Thus Jeremy Taylor in a charge[1] gives such hints as follow: "Let every minister be careful that what he delivers be the Word of God; that his sermon be answerable to his text. . . . Do not spend your sermons in general indefinite things. . . . Let your sermons teach the duty of all states of men to whom you speak . . . and in all things speak usefully and affectionately. . . . In your sermons and discourses of religion use primitive, known and accustomed words, and affect not new fantastical or schismatical terms. . . . Let the preacher be careful that in his sermons he use no light, immodest or ridiculous expressions, but what is wise, grave, useful and for edification; that when the preacher brings truth and gravity the people may attend with fear and reverence."

Bishop Burnet gives in one of his charges[2] a chapter on *Preaching* with many excellent and sensible observations on making sermons. He urges attention to style. It must not be too pretentious. The preacher should know his Quintilian and Cicero. The good advice of the famous bishop is sadly marred by suggesting the use of other men's sermons when necessary or desirable. It is not to be wondered at that occasionally among

[1] See *The Christian Preacher*, a collection by Ed. Williams, Duties), Oxford, 1843, p. 99ff.

[2] *Id.*, p. 206ff.

English clergymen this evil practice found vogue, since it was commended by such high authority.

It appears from the brief discussion that we have been able to give to it that English homiletical literature in the seventeenth century was of no great value or originality, but followed rather the traditional rhetorical and sometimes scholastic methods. Although in some respects the seventeenth century was the classic age of English preaching, its homiletical literature is scanty and is not distinctly great.

The Eighteenth Century

It was much the custom of nineteenth century critics to speak slightingly of the literature of the eighteenth. This criticism took in sermons as well as other literature. Of late some reaction is noticeable, and many have come to speak more respectfully of the intellectual output in all realms of thought which comes from the eighteenth century. It is true that there was a let-down from the high standard of the seventeenth century and nothing like an approach to the splendid achievements of the nineteenth. Yet there was no utter failure in literature generally nor in preaching. Naturally the same sort of generalization applies to the theory of preaching. There was not much of value produced during the eighteenth century, but yet that period was not only the historic but the vital connection between those which preceded

and followed it. Thought did not flow *over* but *through* this period. So we have in the eighteenth century some teachings on Homiletics which it is worth while to investigate and briefly describe.

So far as I have been able to make out there seems to have been nothing in Spain and Italy of any importance in the way of homiletical development and discussion. Kidder[1] mentions a few titles of works, but they do not seem important. It is said that in the writings and letters of St. Alphonso dei Liguori (died 1787), the founder of the Redemptorist Fathers, there are hints and instructions on preaching but no formal treatise. In fact, the writer of the article on Homiletics in Wetzer and Welte's *Church Lexicon* seems to indicate that during the eighteenth century no contribution of any importance to the art of preaching was made by any Catholic writer outside of France.

In France Fénélon's *Dialogues,* written near the end of the seventeenth century, were much read and widely useful in the early part of the eighteenth century. In 1710 was published a treatise by Gaichiés, *Maxims on the Eloquence of the Pulpit.* It had considerable vogue, but I have not been able to see a copy of it. A little later (1715) appeared Gisbert's *Christian Eloquence in Idea and in Practice.* Kidder[2] speaks very highly of this work as having "the classic eloquence of

[1] *Op. cit.,* p. 463.
[2] *Id.,* p. 458.

Fénélon's *Dialogues,* with a greater directness and didactic power." The author opposes with sound sense and good effect the extravagant and artificial style of preaching then so much affected. Of this work the writer on Homiletics in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* says: "The work which comprises twenty-three chapters does not follow the rigorous order of a didactical treatise and is without the dryness of a scholastic manual. It has been rightly called 'an eloquent book on eloquence.' It contains a series of talks on the faults to be avoided in the pulpit, on the qualities necessary for the preacher, on the matter and form of sermons, on oratorical action and decorum. Gisbert's book suffices to make its author famous not only among the Catholic clergy, but even among Protestant pastors."

Near the end of the eighteenth century, about 1793, Cardinal Maury published his *Principles of Eloquence of the Pulpit and of the Bar.* This was rather, as the title indicates, a general treatise with applications to preaching. The brilliant author unfolds with force of thought and characteristic excellence of style the accepted principles of sacred and forensic eloquence. He illustrates by examples and criticisms of many ancient and modern orators. The criticisms are keen and competent, though not always just. The book is well worth reading.

Of French Protestant treatises the only one of importance appears to be a set of *Lectures on*

Preaching by J. F. Ostervald[1] (died 1747), the noted professor of theology at Neuchâtel in Switzerland. It was published from notes taken by students in his classes and without the author's consent. Notwithstanding this defect the matter was so good that it was thought worthy of translation into English, and was held in esteem both in France and England.

In Germany the varieties of opinion and practice in preaching revealed themselves in the homiletical literature of the eighteenth century. Of this there is a considerable amount, and some of it is of value. Early in the century the influence of Spener, the eminent Pietist who repudiated the scholasticism of the preceding epoch, was powerfully felt. He himself paid little attention to form in preaching. Imbued with his ideas one of his followers, Joachim Lange,[2] published in 1707 a treatise whose title (translated from the Latin) indicates its aim: *Sacred Oratory Purged From the Vanity of Homiletical Art.* The pious author criticized very sharply the extremes of the preceding period, but naturally tended too far the other way in not giving sufficient attention to rhetorical art in the composition of sermons. Later came a more balanced presentation of the subject in the *Homiletic Precepts* (still in Latin) of J. J. Rambach (1736). While teaching the need of meditation and dependence on the Holy Spirit he avoided

1 Kidder, p. 458.
2 Harnack, *Geschichte und Theorie der Predigt*, S. 138.

the extremes of Pietism; and while declaring for a simpler division and discussion he eschewed the complicated scholastic method. This, however, was not defunct, as is shown by the appearance in 1720 of E. V. Loescher's (still in Latin) *Homiletic Breviary,* or *Summary of Ecclesiastical Oratory.*[1] This author at least had the grace to reduce Carpzov's one hundred methods of preaching to twenty-five.

After this time the German treatises were written in that language, which was at least a point gained in further discrediting the scholastic method. Showing the influence of the Wolfian philosophy came J. G. Reinbeck, who published in 1739 a treatise on Homiletics (now in German) with the title, *Evangelical Oratory.*[2] Soon after (at the instance of the Royal Council of Berlin), he put out a shorter work with the title, *Sketch of a Method of Preaching in an Orderly and Edifying Manner.*

More important and valuable than these works was that of J. L. Mosheim, the famous church historian and preacher. He lectured on Homiletics at the University of Göttingen, and is called by Th. Harnack[3] "the father of modern spiritual eloquence." Himself an admirable preacher, he shunned the faults of all the other schools and taught a sane, Scriptural and devout homiletical

[1] Lentz, II., SS. 144, 145.
[2] Harnack, S. 142; Hering, S. 163.
[3] S., 46.

method. His lectures were published after his death (between 1755 and 1763) by Windheim with the title, *Instruction on Preaching Edifyingly.* He gives a brief survey of the history of preaching up to his own times, a critical outlook on the German pulpit, and on that of other lands, and then gives sound rules and principles for the right kind of preaching. He perhaps emphasizes the understanding a little too much, but he insists on the play of the spiritual feelings and surrender of the will to God.

Some works on preaching came from the rationalistic party among the Germans, but they were cold, critical and formal with little or no influence upon the development of homiletical theory or practice.

Near the end of the century F. V. Reinhard, lecturer and preacher at Wittenberg, and later court preacher at Dresden, exerted both from chair and pulpit a great homiletical influence. Some of his principles were outlined in his *Confessions.* He taught an evangelical Christianity, but did not entirely escape from a sort of rationalism. At least he emphasized thought and form more than spirituality. His method was analytical, neat and clear without going too far into the nicety of scholastic definition and division.

So far as I have been able to discover German Catholics do not appear to have contributed anything of importance to homiletical theory during the eighteenth century.

In Holland[1] the revolt of Cocceius and his followers from the scholastic method went on in this century. Representing this school is a *Rhetorica Ecclesiastica* by F. H. Van der Honert, and an analytical table of subjects with *Hints on Preaching* by Van der Alphen. A still greater improvement is found in the useful work of F. A. Lampe (died 1729), with the title (in Latin) *A Breviary of Homiletical Institutions.* He taught a more spiritual and evangelical method akin to that of the better educated Pietists of Germany. The topical and Scriptural method of preaching employed by Tillotson and other English divines made a great impression in Holland, and the theory of this mode was expounded in a useful treatise by E. Hollebeek (died 1796), professor and preacher at Leyden. This style was furthered and improved by the writings and sermons of Gisbert Bonnet (died 1805), professor at Utrecht. Thus in Germany and Holland the development was from the old, tedious and academic Homiletics to one that was more Scriptural, evangelical, simple and practical. Yet the development was slow, for the earlier manner still had some influence. As we have seen, the better method was helped in Holland by the direct influence of English thought and practice.

When we come to works on Homiletics in the English tongue during the eighteenth century it is interesting to find that among the first was one

[1] See Van Oosterzee, *Prae. Theol.*, p. 146ff.

produced in New England. This little work came from the prolific pen of Cotton Mather, D.D., the famous Puritan preacher of Massachusetts. The author was the son and grandson of Puritan preachers. He was one of the most notable characters in the religious history of colonial New England. He was a preacher of power, a leader of influence, a writer of learning, though much given to pedantry. Among his voluminous writings is a little book which bears the title *Manuductio ad Ministerium; Directions for a Candidate of the Ministry.* Kidder[1] states that the work first appeared about 1710, and intimates that it was first published in England. But the edition here quoted bears on the title page the words "Boston . . . printed for Thos. Hancock and sold at his shop in Ann Street near the Draw-Bridge, 1726." After a pretentious Dedication and Introduction in Latin comes a table of contents giving the subjects discussed. It may be of interest to quote these entire. "Death realized, True End of Life answered, Conversion to Piety accomplished, The right End of studies fixed, Study of Languages directed, Study of the Sciences, Of Poetry and of Style, Of Natural Philosophy, Of the Mathematicks, Of History, Some useful Proposals to Students, The Sentiments with which the Evangelical Ministry is to be undertaken, Of reading the Sacred Scriptures, Study of Divinity entered upon, The Pulpit and the Work of It, Employ-

[1] *Homiletics*, p. 445.

ments for a Vigilant Pastor, The Genuine and Catholic spirit of Christianity described and commended, Rules of Health, Rules of Prudence."

These announced subjects are all discussed in the little volume of 151 pages. In the beginning the title is repeated and an alternative used: "*Manuductio ad Ministerium*, or *The Angels Preparing to Sound the Trumpets.*" The first fifteen sections discuss the subjects named in the table of contents and only in the sixteenth section does the author come to treat of preaching. Before that he has many quaint and amusing things to say, of which one may be taken as a sample. In urging the study of Hebrew he says, "But for the Hebrew I am importunate with you. And the more so because 'tis one remarkable instance of the depraved gust [taste] into which we have of later years degenerated that the knowledge of the Hebrew is fallen under so much disrepute as to make a learned man almost afraid of owning that he has anything of it, lest it should bring him under suspicion of being an odd, starved, lank sort of a thing who had lived on Hebrew roots all his days."

In section sixteen Dr. Mather takes up the subject of preaching. The section contains only eighteen pages and is ill digested and arranged. It has no special originality, but is often judicious and quaint. He begins thus: "After all this preparation for the sanctuary you are now coming to feed the flocks on the high mountains of Israel; coming into an employment among the people of

God in which I wish you may prove like the angel in the Revelation that came down from heaven, and the earth was lightened with his glory. I am now going to bring you into the pulpit." Later he says: "The first thing which I have to demand of you is that you entertain the people of God with none but well-studied sermons, and employ none but well-beaten oil for the lamps of the golden candle-stick."

He has a brave and manly word to say against using other men's sermons: "Your sermon must always be such that you may hope to have the blood of your Saviour sprinkled on it, and his good Spirit breathing in it. A sermon likewise it must be that shall discover you to be a workman; and be like the peace offerings of old, an oblation, which as the people of God have their share in it, so 'tis presented unto the glorious God Himself, the Great King, whose name is venerable. How such things as these can be compatible to stolen sermons, or concomitant with them, I cannot imagine." After saying a few words full of good sense on selecting the subjects of sermons, he well says: "Among all the subjects with which you feed the people of God I beseech you let not the true Bread of Life be forgotten, but exhibit as much as you can of a glorious Christ unto them—yea, let the motto upon your whole ministry be, Christ is All." Again, "Be a star to lead men unto the Saviour, and stop not until you see them there."

He urges that the preachers should present the doctrines of grace, and to that end should carefully study theology with the best authors, a number of whom he recommends. He insists that there should be prayerful preparation with pause and prayer at intervals during the composition. He enjoins a suitable delivery—"a well-prepared sermon should be a well-pronounced one—avoid unbecoming things, speak deliberately, do not begin too high, conclude with vigor." Mather prefers that there should be no use of notes in the pulpit, but if found necessary they should be used wisely, "not the dull reading of them." "What I therefore advise you to do is, Let your notes be little other than a quiver on which you may cast your eye now and then to see what arrow is next to be fetched from thence, and then, with your eye as much as may be on them whom you speak to, let it be shot away with a vivacity of one in earnest for to have the truth well entertained with the auditory." By this last phrase, of course he means "well and profitably received by the hearers."

With regard to the conclusion he says: "Finally let your perorations often be lively expostulations with the conscience of the hearer—appeals made and questions put unto the conscience, and consignments of the work over into the hands of that flaming preacher in the bosom of the hearer. In such flames may you do wondrously."

The rest of the treatise discusses pastoral duties

and other matters as shown in the table of contents. Thus we see that in this earliest American book on the subject there is very little that is strictly homiletical or of any permanent value. But we have here at least a beginning of homiletical teaching in our country, and as far as it goes, and with certain minor criticisms, it is a sound and sensible presentation of its subjects.

Of English books only a few are worthy of mention. Those of the early part of the century whose titles are given by Kidder seem not to be of any importance. He mentions a *Methodus Evangelica,* or *Discourse Upon the Homiletical, Textual and Occasional Methods of Preaching,* by Thos. Blackwell (1712); and *Ars Concionandi,* by J. Barecrofts, D.D., London (1715), and *The Accomplished Preacher,* by Sir Richard Blackmore, London (1731).

More important than these was *Lectures on Preaching and the Several Branches of the Ministerial Office,* by Philip Doddridge, D.D. The copy I have used is found in Volume V of Doddridge's *Works* published at Leeds in 1804.

Dr. Doddridge (1702-1751) was one of the wisest, most pious and useful of dissenting divines of his time. He was tenderly reared, well educated and began his work as a preacher while still young. It is said that two persons were converted under the preaching of his first sermon. He began his work at Kibworth, a small charge which permitted time for study as well as devoted

pastoral labor. In 1729 he joined with other ministers of the Congregational body in establishing a school for preparing young men for the ministry. Soon afterward he moved with his school to Northampton. Here he remained for the rest of his life as pastor and teacher. During this time he produced his two most celebrated books, namely, *The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul* and *The Family Expositor,* an exposition of the New Testament. These books have been of wide and permanent value. Doddridge's numerous labors in teaching, preaching, pastoral service, and writing, soon wore him out. He died before he was fifty years of age, but his influence has been great and abiding.

His *Lectures on Preaching* as published are the result of the editing and comparing of several copies of pupils' notes. They are therefore of the nature of an outline or syllabus of lectures which were enlarged on in the class. Thus the work is very imperfect in form and in style, but it is very judicious and full of common sense and piety. It begins with general admonitions on the ministerial work and character, discusses and recommends a number of practical writers suitable for young preachers, and in Lecture V takes up *Rules for Composing Sermons.* After announcing his subject and method he says: "When we are about composing a sermon we are to consider (1) What *subject* is to be chosen; (2) In what *strain* it is to be handled; (3) The style of the

composition; (4) What thoughts we are to introduce; (5) In what *order* we are to throw them." To this he adds: "(6) Some further rules not comprehended under any of these heads."

On the choice of subjects Doddridge recommends that the more difficult and profound themes be touched on in parts of sermons rather than that whole sermons should be given to them. Of course there are exceptions, but as a rule it is better not to make long theological discussions in sermons. He advises that the more practical and easily comprehended gospel themes should be generally used. On the *Strains* of preaching he explains that he means "the general manner in which the whole discourse is composed." So he discusses the various strains as argumentative, pathetic, insinuated (or suggestive), evangelical, spiritual, experimental, and Scriptural. On *Style* he teaches that it should be pure, intelligible and clear, strong and nervous, calm and composed, orthodox, grave and solemn, plain and unaffected, interspersed with figures, free and easy, lively, various, harmonious. On the *Choice of Thoughts* he counsels that they should be solemn, useful, proper to the subject, such as naturally flow from the subject, some new in every discourse, popular and select—that is, definite. On the *Manner of Arranging the Thoughts,* or *divisions,* he gives very sound advice. "Let the heads be distinct, not only in words but in meaning. Study to express them clearly, that the distinction may evidently

appear. When it is otherwise the sermon cannot be understood, well received or tolerably remembered, and the preacher himself, it will be supposed, has not fully understood his subject." With this good beginning he goes on to teach that there should not be too many divisions and subdivisions, that they should be expressed in as few words as possible, come in their natural order, should not be trite, and should be varied in different sermons as the subjects may suggest. He advises that the plan be stated at least twice and reviewed in the conclusion. "Let your hearers always perceive where you are, and be upon your guard against long digressions."

In Lecture X Doddridge gives "more practical rules on the composition of a sermon." He urges that time should be taken for devout meditation on the subject, and that the best frame and time for composing should be chosen. Then he discusses the process of composition, dealing with the introduction, explication, moving the feelings, use of Scripture quotations, appeal to conscience, and the conclusion. On this he remarks: "Do not leave off merely because you have nothing more to say; be sure to close handsomely."

With regard to Delivery (Lecture XI) he speaks of its obvious importance and urges that it be grave and serious, distinct in utterance, and "affectionate." By this he means "full of feeling," and quotes Baxter as saying, "Nothing is more indecent than a dead preacher speaking to

dead hearers the living truths of the Living God." He proceeds to say that the delivery should be composed and sedate, various, natural and unaffected, "free," *i. e.*, above the *servile* use of notes. "To be able to preach without notes raises a man's character. Accustom yourself to look much upon your auditory." He then advises on ways to attain a good delivery, such as guarding against faults, seeking advice of others, and heeding criticisms. He then makes some general and detached suggestions on various points and turns from Homiletics proper to consider prayer, the study of the Scriptures, and pastoral duties.

Two of the most famous and influential works in English were the productions of Scotchmen. George Campbell, LL.D, Aberdeen, published in 1775 his well-known *Lectures on Pulpit Eloquence.* His other work, the *Philosophy of Rhetoric,* notwithstanding its faults, is a really great book and had large circulation and use in times past. The lectures on *Pulpit Eloquence* are solid, judicious and thoughtful. They encourage a Scriptural and evangelical use of rhetorical principles, but they are cold and dry. The subjects discussed will give some idea of the contents of the work. They are as follows: "Importance of Pulpit Eloquence, Helps for the Advancement of the Art, Sentiment in Pulpit Discourses, Expression (style), Pronunciation (delivery), Various Kinds of Discourses, Lectures, Explanatory Sermons, Choice of Subject and Text, Introduction, Exposition,

Division, Style, Conclusion, Controversial Discourses, Discourses Addressed to the Imagination, to the Passions, to the Will."

The so-called "moderate," that is, rationalistic branch of the Scottish Church, is represented by the famous Dr. Hugh Blair of Edinburgh. In his one-time celebrated *Lectures on Rhetoric* several are devoted to the eloquence of the pulpit. The style is elaborate, the sentiment classic, the ideas and principles good and acceptable; but the spirit is that of the party to which the author belonged—cool, intellectual, formal, lifeless.

On the whole the English treatises on Homiletics during the eighteenth century are disappointing both as to number and quality. There is good sense for the most part, but no enthusiasm. The treatment is formed upon the classic principles of rhetoric with application to preaching rather than upon those of preaching itself.

LECTURE VII

MODERN HOMILETICS—EUROPE

The place of the nineteenth century in the intellectual development of Europe is generally recognized as the most important and valuable of all. There is no need to specify. All spheres of thought and action were powerfully affected and progress greatly stimulated. The literary expression of the movements of thought was enormous. Of course this applies to preaching and its theory, as well as to all the other branches of intellectual and literary work. The application to modern conditions and the expression in modern forms of the accepted principles of Homiletics created a large and varied literature. On this account the study of the subject is greatly facilitated, and at the same time widely extended, both in scope and complexity. While the writers on Homiletics during the nineteenth century have found little, if anything, new to say on their subject, they have said it so finely and powerfully, and in such a variety of ways that the interest of their readers is not only held, but quickened and sustained.

General View

It will be proper at the outset to take a general view of European Homiletics during the nine-

teenth century. Christlieb in his article on Homiletics in Herzog's *Real Encyclopädie,* and in his treatise on Homiletics has given an excellent survey for Germany, and has something to say for other countries. In the development of theological education there was increasing recognition of Homiletics as an integral and vital part of the preparation of young men for the ministry. In the theological departments of the universities, and in special schools (where these existed) for the training of preachers and pastors, there were courses of instruction by lecture and text-book in Homiletics. Many of the lecture courses were developed into books and published. No doubt most of the literature of Homiletics was produced in this way, but there were also other treatises by pastors and others, which did not bear the academic stamp. Thus, both in lectures and in books, the value of homiletical instruction was emphasized, but not always did it receive due recognition.

Christlieb says that in the early part of the century the improvement of homiletic teaching in Germany owed much to the spiritual and evangelistic labors of the pious and eloquent preacher, Claus Harms. On the scientific side of its development, Homiletics, in common with every other theological discipline, was greatly indebted to the genius and influence of Schleiermacher, the great theologian and teacher. Christlieb remarks: "We see, as always, first that the beginning of better prac-

tice works toward the regeneration of theory; and then, that renewed theory works toward the general improvement of practice." This improvement, both in the theory and practice of preaching, seems to have held good throughout Europe, and among both Catholics and Protestants.

In England the case was somewhat different. As late as 1864, Dean J. W. Burgon, in the Preface to his *Treatise on the Pastoral Office,* complained that at the English universities no adequate means were found for the training of preachers for their work, including Homiletics; but says that diocesan colleges had been founded for this purpose. He further remarks that, though this complaint had often been made, there was still no proper provision for teaching the art of preaching. Of course, in the preparatory schools careful instruction had been given in literary composition, and university men were expected to know how to express themselves in English, both spoken and written. But practical homiletical instruction was sadly lacking in schools where preachers received their training.

In regard to the present state of homiletical instruction in England, I wrote to Dr. A. E. Garvie, Principal of New College, London, an author of useful books on preaching, to which attention is later called. Dr. Garvie's reply, which I am permitted to quote, is as follows: "As regards your special subject of inquiry, it is very difficult to make a brief statement, as there is no uniform-

ity of practice. In most colleges the Principal has also charge of Pastoral Theology, including Homiletics. In some colleges this is supplemented by special courses of lectures by ministers who have 'made good' as preachers or pastors. A sermon-class is held, at which the students in turn preach before their teachers and fellow-students, and criticism follows. Some of the Principals are content with informal instruction in Homiletics in their remarks in the sermon-class. Others give lectures on the History of Preaching, or the Theory. Most colleges provide competent instruction in Voice Production and Elocution. I think it may be said that the colleges are paying more attention than they did to the whole subject of practical training, and the churches are becoming very insistent on that. The students, too, are more eager to develop their powers as preachers. The tendency in some colleges to regard academic instruction as alone of value is weakening. I am hopeful of great improvement in the future in this branch of learning."

Survey of the Literature

A complete detailed study of the literature is neither possible nor desirable in a lecture like this. All that is required for our purpose is to select a few of the outstanding works for such notice as will give a reasonably clear and full conception of the character and quality of homiletical teach-

ing in Europe during the period under review, that is, since the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Among the Catholics of Southern Europe the subject was not wholly neglected, but the books in Spanish and Italian, of which mention is made by various writers, do not appear to have been of any distinguished or original merit. I have not made any study of these.[1] It is, however, a matter of deep interest to us to note that in 1912 there appeared under the auspices of the Baptist Theological School at Rome a treatise in Italian by Prof. N. H. Shaw under the title (translated) *The Pulpit, or Manual of Homiletics.* It is a clear and able and thoroughly modern presentation of the subject, showing both wide study and firm grasp of the materials, acknowledging indebtedness to many writers, and especially to Broadus' *Preparation and Delivery of Sermons.* Of this well-known book he says in the preface: "The most complete treatise on preparation for the ministry is that of Broadus, of which I have taken the liberty to translate and adopt many passages, sometimes extensive ones." It is encouraging to know that the preachers in training for evangelical work in Italy are thus furnished with an excellent manual on the art of preaching.

[1] There are, however, at least two valuable works on the History of Preaching which should be mentioned: *L'Oratoria Sacra Italiana nel Medio Evo,* by Luigi Marenco; and *Storia della Predicazione nei Secoli della Letteratura Italiana,* by Francesco Zanotto.

In Switzerland and France the production of treatises on Homiletics was not so large as in some other countries, but the quality of the works produced is high, and some of them have had extensive influence.[1] First in order and in importance is *Homiletics, or the Theory of Preaching,* by Alexandre Vinet, D.D. This great book was published after the author's death in 1847 from his manuscripts, with some additions from the notebooks of students. It had wide and fruitful use among French Protestants everywhere, and influenced to some extent German thought and treatment. But it is especially interesting to Americans to recall that the book was translated and edited by Thos. H. Skinner, D.D., Professor of Sacred Rhetoric and Pastoral Theology in Union Theological Seminary, New York, in 1854. It was used as a text-book, or a book of reference, in many theological seminaries in this country. Dr. Broadus used it thus for a while in his early work as professor in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. His own thinking and treatment were very greatly guided by Vinet. The first edition of Broadus' book contained several extensive quo-

[1] Here again we must observe that there were valuable works on the History of Preaching in addition to those on Homiletics proper. Of these special mention should be made of *La Chaire Française au XIIme Siècle,* by Bourgain; *La Chaire Française au Moyen Age,* by Lecoy de la Marche (a masterly work); *Les Libres Predicateurs,* by A. Méray; *Histoire de la Predication parmi les Réformés,* by Alexandre Vinet; *Histoire de la Prédication Protestante,* by A. Vincent; *Le Sermon au XVIIIme Siècle,* by A. Bernard. For fuller bibliography see my *History of Preaching,* I, 566, and II, 580.

tations from Vinet's treatise. Besides that, there are references and acknowledgments. Vinet was an eminent scholar and literary critic, and was professor at Lausanne from 1837-1847. He was descended from Huguenot parentage, and was thoroughly Protestant, pious and evangelical. On beginning his work as professor he gave the customary inaugural address. In that he thus expresses himself as to his view of his work: "I assure you, that I come in the name and at the call of God, to study with you a human art, which as to its use, and as to its means, has been rendered divine. In particular, be content to know, that the man who offers himself, to aid as far as he can, your meditations and studies in regard to preaching, though firmly resolved to propose to you all the natural resources which give works of art their relative perfection, has the fullest conviction that God alone understands art, that his Spirit alone is eloquent in our discourses." This promise was fully redeemed, for both the spirituality and scholarship of the author appear in his excellent book. It is one of the classic treatises on the subject of Homiletics. Though published after the author's death, and therefore without his revision, it remains a great and noble production. As was natural, it was chiefly and avowedly adapted to the needs of the author's own time, country and people. But it develops and applies the great principles of the art of preaching with keenness of mind, ample learning, and

an earnest spirit. Though sometimes diffuse and labored, and in some respects incomplete in its treatment, the book remains a worthy monument of a truly great mind which gave its best strength to the art of which it treats.

In the Introduction (page 28) Vinet defines the sermon as a "discourse incorporated with public worship, and designed, concurrently or alternatively, to conduct to Christian truth one who has not yet believed in it, and to explain and apply it to those who admit it. The Apostles Paul and Peter give the same idea of preaching." Further he says (page 29), "The object of pulpit eloquence, we are aware, as indeed that of all eloquence, is to determine the will; but this object is closely combined with that of instruction. Eloquence is but the form, the edge, so to speak, of instruction. The preacher is a teacher under the form of an orator." Again (page 31): "Not only does teaching predominate in the eloquence of the pulpit; the preacher, we add, has a document as the basis of his eloquence. As we have before said, he speaks the Word of God." He has a long and sensible discussion of preaching as a true art, and says (page 33), "Art, in effect, which we must not confound with artifice, is, in all cases, but the serious search for means suited to an end; so that, to renounce art, we must first prove that, at the first attempt, the whole and the best possible is found. Till this be done, we ask what harm can art do?"

Coming to the main treatment (page 49) he defines thus: "The division of a course upon the art of Oratory, has always been, as it ever must be, Invention, Disposition, Elocution. Invention, strictly speaking, expands itself over the whole field of Rhetoric. We invent our plan, we invent our language. The same faculty is applied to everything; it is the whole talent, it is the whole art. But if we consider here, not the faculty, the exercise of which is unlimited, but the object, which is special, we shall find a real difference and distinction between those three things; the matter or ground (which is to be invented), the order (which is to be invented), and the style (which is to be invented), a division which corresponds to the ancient one, and which, perhaps, we may use to advantage. While, however, we retain the terms, we premise that by the word invention, we understand only the invention of the ideas, or the matter, of which the disposition and expression are afterwards to be invented." By elocution he means style. In a *résumé* at the end of Part I (page 254), he clearly sums up by saying: "The whole of art, say the ancient rhetoricians, consists in inventing, disposing, expressing; this is the whole of art, repeat the moderns. We pretend to no improvement. These three operations comprise the whole of art, and they are indeed three operations. We cannot better express ourselves than in terms borrowed from the art of architecture, matter, structure, style." The

book expands these three main topics. It does not treat of Delivery. Perhaps this was covered in lectures which have not been preserved. Under the head of Invention, Vinet discusses Subjects, Texts and Matter, treating the last under the terms Explication and Proof. Under the latter head he allows considerable latitude, meaning what Aristotle understands by the "means of persuasion."

In Part II, Vinet takes up the subject of Disposition or Arrangement, which he discusses with great brevity, but with good sense, pointing out the need and value of an orderly plan, both from the oratorical and the logical points of view. He then comes to the third general division of Elocution (Style). That is, the expression of subjects and materials in discourse, especially written discourse. He again brings up the subject of preaching as an art and finally says (page 350), "Neither an anathema on art, nor art for art's sake, but art for God's sake, is what we insist upon. It results, as it seems to us, from what we have said, that good style is necessary, and that good style does not come of itself." In stating the "fundamental qualities of style," he names them (page 367) as "Perspicuity, purity, correctness, propriety, precision, order, naturalness, suitableness." Then he has a chapter on the superior qualities or virtues of style: Strength, beauty, color, movement, under the last of which he discusses the use of figures, dramatism, and elegance. There is

an evident incompleteness and abruptness about the close of the book. The author had not worked it out. To-day the book is valuable chiefly for what it did. It is too diffuse, and too remote from the happenings of our day to be of practical importance now.

Of other French treatises, a few are important. The eloquent and saintly Protestant preacher, Adolphe Monod, published a lecture on the *Delivery of Sermons,* which Broadus characterizes as "singularly good." Growing out of the experiences of one of the greatest preachers of modern times, it bore the stamp of his fine intellect and warm heart.

The advanced wing of the French Protestant ministry had also a distinguished representative in the department of Homiletics. This was the younger Athanase Coquerel, who published about 1860 a brilliant and delightful little book under the title (translated), *Practical Observations on Preaching.* The book is neither in lecture nor text-book form, but is readable, practical and competent. The author treats with fine discrimination, good judgment, scholarly ability, and excellent style the usual subjects of Homiletics. He writes of the proper interpretation of the Scripture, the choice of texts, and of dangers to be avoided, such as taking subjects of relatively little importance, and going into minute details, which are neither dignified nor interesting. He discusses courage and reality in preaching. He writes helpfully of

plans and of the modes of delivery, preferring the extemporaneous method, after careful preparation. He emphasizes the need of hard and continuous work, and of the moral and artistic points of view in making sermons. He closes with three chapters devoted to the importance of the sermon in worship, the good produced by preaching, and the responsibility of the preacher. It was a very excellent little work in its day, and is worth reading any day.

The art of preaching was not neglected among the Catholics of France. Somewhere about 1870 (exact date not given) the eminent Bishop Dupanloup put forth a series of lectures under the title *The Ministry of Preaching; an Essay on Pastoral and Popular Oratory.* It was translated into English by Samuel J. Eales, and published both in England and in this country. The author was well known as a devout and excellent prelate, highly esteemed for his work and influence. The book gives some wise and good counsels especially appropriate to parish priests on the subject of preaching. It is not a treatise in the technical sense, and of course presents the matters discussed from the Catholic point of view. But it is a good book. The author refers much to Augustine and Fénélon. He urges that preaching should be popular and paternal in tone, looking to the spiritual instruction and profit of the hearers. He quotes with approval a fine saying of Augustine: "It is

better that the grammarians should criticize us than that the people should not understand us.''

In Germany, during the period we are considering, the literature of Homiletics is very large; of course varied in quality and in value, but marked by the well-known German qualities. It is scientific and thorough in treatment, often involved and unattractive in style, and frequently still laboring under the burden of scholastic analysis and expression. Yet, there is an evident trend toward a more practical and popular treatment of the subject. The German treatises naturally adapt themselves to the peculiarities of the German mind, and to ecclesiastical customs and habits of thought as they exist in Germany. For example, the German pastor and preacher, much like the rector of an English parish in the Established Church, must conform to churchly regulations which do not exist among us. The discussions of Homiletics, therefore, are usually a part of general instructions on parish or pastoral duties. The pastor must catechize the children and prepare them for confirmation. He must, of course, look after the sick in mind and body, who are under his care. He must conduct the worship according to the prescribed arrangements. The sacred seasons must be observed, and the Scripture lessons are appointed for every Sunday of the year. The preaching must fit in with these established customs. Hence, instructions in Hom-

iletics, likewise, take account of these requirements of an established church.[1]

Early in the century, Rudolf Stier tried to bring in a more Biblical conception of the theory of preaching, and published a little book called *Keryktik.* This is from the Greek *kerux,* a herald, a word several times found in the New Testament for preacher. His idea was to try to get this term used instead of Homiletics, to indicate that the preacher's main business was to be a herald of the gospel. The author was rather one-sided in his attack upon the misuse of rhetoric, but the good point in his treatment of the subject was not without fruit. In the same direction, Franz Theremin put out a small volume called *Preaching a Virtue,* in which he stresses the moral and spiritual elements of the preacher's office, along with other good counsels on preaching. This book also had good influence. It was translated by Professor Shedd, of Princeton, and was well known in this country a generation ago.

One of the most important and widely influential German works, about the middle of the nineteenth century, was the *Evangelical Homiletics* (title translated), by Dr. Christian Palmer, published in 1842, and in later editions to the fifth in 1867. Like most of the German treatises, the book is too exclusively adapted to German church life and customs to be of special practical value to others

[1] There are in German a number of notable works on the History of Preaching. See the bibliographies in my *History of Preaching,* Vol. I, p. 566, Vol. II, p. 580ff.

than students of Homiletics. Much of the book is taken up with the German ideas of pastoral service, worship, Bible study and interpretation, a subject suited to the church seasons and other special occasions. When he comes to the principles of Homiletics as such, Palmer gives a careful and thoughtful arrangement and study. His general division is peculiar. After some introductory remarks, he discusses, as the main parts of the book: the Word of God, Churchly Customs, the Congregation, the Personality of the Preacher. It is under the general topic of Churchly Custom that the author considers technical Homiletics. Discussing first the sacred seasons and the ordinances, he comes to the Text, grouping what he has to say on this subject, in reference still to the church seasons. These, in a general way, must determine the preacher's choice of his text and theme. As a rule, the German preacher gets his text from the scripture adapted for reading on the particular Sunday of the church year. This leaves him only limited choice. For the evening service and week days he has more liberty of choice. In these cases, he should wisely and conscientiously select his text with a view to the spiritual benefit of the congregation. In the more distinctly homiletical part of his discussion, Palmer treats of the Sermon as a Work of Art, the Disposition (or Arrangement), the Theme, the Development, the Introduction, the Conclusion, with a sort of postscript on the liturgical and hymnological elements

of preaching. Under the head of the Congregation, Palmer considers how the preaching should be adapted to the people's needs, to the influences at work among them, and related practical matters. Under the head of the Personality of the Preacher, the author treats of Delivery. He insists on what he calls *free delivery*. That is, unhampered by close dependence upon manuscript. If one reads, it must be free reading, not slavish. But Palmer seems to prefer the method of recitation, provided the memorizing has been so thoroughly done as to assure both preacher and audience against painful and embarrassing hesitation. He admits that many prefer free speech after careful preparation, and grants that, for those who can do this well, it is an admissible method. The preacher's appearance, bearing, manner, and character should, of course, be such as to win and hold the respect of his hearers. Finally, the personality of the preacher must be trained and disciplined for the suitable exercise of his great office of bringing the Word of God to bear upon his hearers.

Much in the same general line as Palmer's is the treatise of Alexander Schweitzer, a pastor and teacher in Zurich. His treatise pursues the usual German method of discussing Homiletics as a part of Practical Theology. He gives considerable space to discussing the relation of preaching to other parts of the pastoral office. In the strictly homiletical part of the book, there is not much

that is new, either in arrangement or thought. The author divides Homiletics proper into Principal, Material, and Formal Homiletics. It is under the last head that he discusses Theme, Partition, Development (including Grouping and Style), and Delivery. Under the last he insists, as Palmer does, that the delivery should be alive and personal, and growing out of what is the preacher's own. Whether he should read from manuscript or recite from memory, or speak freely what has been carefully thought or written out beforehand, must be decided by each one for himself. Each preacher must pursue the plan which he can use to best advantage.

A number of learned and able treatises in German appeared from the middle to the end of the nineteenth century. It would be impossible to describe or analyze them in detail, but at least the names of the most distinguished authors should be mentioned. Karl Immanuel Nitzsch, the devoted and beloved preacher, published a volume on Homiletics, which is mentioned by the authorities as very able, but it has not fallen into my hands to examine it. Karl F. Gaupp sought a somewhat new method of presenting the subject of Homiletics. He gave more attention to the Bible itself as affording proper instructions on the art of preaching, and he held that Homiletics was to be distinguished from rhetoric, on the ground that preaching, being the delivery of the Word of God, was in some sense a divine inspiration and not a

merely human art. This view, as we shall see later, was held by one noted American writer on the subject and by one of the eminent English preachers, who gave one year the *Yale Lectures*. There were notable works on Homiletics by Hagenbach, Bassermann, Otto, Christlieb, and others, which rank high in the literature of our subject. The work of Christlieb was translated into English and was read both in England and America. Books of special interest are those of Hettinger, *Aphorisms on Preaching and Preachers*—a collection of sayings and teachings from many authors; of Bindemann, who discussed the significance of the Old Testament for Christian preaching; and *Jewish Homiletics,* by Rabbi Maybaum, who gives much material of historical and practical value and interest. The later German writers on Homiletics pay attention to the history as well as to the art of preaching. Dr. D. Hering, in his *Die Lehre von der Predigt* (*Instruction on Preaching*), devotes the first half to the history, and the second to the theory of preaching. One of the fullest of recent German books is the *History and Theory of Preaching* (title translated), by Dr. Th. Harnack. Following the German custom, Harnack treats Homiletics as a division of Practical Theology. He divides his work into three parts: Foundational, Historical, and Constructive. Under the first the treatise presents the nature and principles of preaching; under the second its history, under the third its materials and aims, and

the construction of sermons. This division is thoroughgoing and suggestive, but it obviously covers too much ground for adequate treatment as a manual; and for practical use as a textbook, it is too severely philosophical. Harnack distinguishes between what we would call evangelistic preaching and preaching to a Christian congregation. He treats Homiletics under the latter point of view. This, of course, is one-sided and objectionable both in theory and in practice, for preaching includes both elements, and the laws governing sermon structure could not be essentially different in the two connections. The author clearly and strongly states that Homiletics as an art cannot give nor take the place of talent and divine grace. It is only an instrumental helper to these. He further vindicates the *individual homiletics*—each man must make his own. The theory can only give general rules. He denies that preaching is only a certain kind of oratory. He puts it upon the higher plane of differing both in principle and method from ordinary oratory, and yet does not go so far as to destroy the natural relationship of the two. Preaching is discourse, and as such is subject to the recognized laws of discourse. But it is more than this, because of its relation to the fundamentals of Christianity. Harnack considers Homiletics according to four fundamental principles: (1) From the standpoint of truth, especially saving truth. (2) Fellowship and mutuality. (3) Freedom and individuality. (4)

Order or rule. By these he means the Biblical, churchly, personal and rhetorical character of preaching. He lays down the principle that preaching, as we have it, is an essential part of Christian worship, so he divides his treatment under the rather artificial heads: (1) The act of worship considered as discourse; (2) Discourse considered as an act of worship. Holding this fundamental principle in view, he divides his treatment into the three parts already indicated: foundational, historical, constructive. When he comes to the third, or constructive part, the first half considers preaching as an act of worship in discourse, where he discusses the conception of preaching, its material, its relation to the Word of God, the selection and handling of the text, the application of the text. He also considers the relation of preaching to the life of the church and congregation. That is, to the church seasons, special occasions and the like. In the second half of this part of his treatment, he takes up preaching as the act of discourse in worship. Here he lays down the aim of preaching as being the edification of the hearers, especially influencing the will. It is in this part also that he discusses the customary homiletical subjects of Material, or Invention, Theme, Division, and the rest. On the whole, as remarked at the outset, the German books are too academic and theoretic. They show research and mastery, as regards history, depth of thought, and more or less thoroughness of analysis. Many

of them breathe a very devout spirit, and insist upon character and piety as essential to the right sort of preaching.

In Holland the study and teaching of Homiletics was not neglected. A number of treatises on the subject appear.[1] The most important of these was *Practical Theology, a Manual for Theological Students,* by Prof. J. J. van Oosterzee, D.D. The original edition in Dutch was published in Utrecht in 1878. The English translation, by Maurice J. Evans, was published both in England and in this country, and is therefore well known to English-speaking students. The work contains a discussion of the general subject of practical theology, which he divides into the four topics of Homiletics, Liturgics, Catechetics, and Poimenics. That is, preaching, worship, instruction of children, and pastoral oversight. We are concerned only with the homiletic part. This is presented in two general divisions, which he calls, (1) the Preparatory Part, and (2) the Developing Part. The first part treats of the Idea, Importance, History and Literature, and Present Conditions of Homiletics. The second part takes up Homiletics proper, which he treats under the three excellent divisions of Principles, Material, and Form.

On Homiletics in relation to its principles, the author discusses first the nature and character of the sermon, which he defines (page 166) thus:

1 On the *History of Preaching*, besides the sketch in Van Oosterzee, there is a very able book by J. Hartog, *Geschiedenis van de Predikkunde*, etc.

"The Sermon is a concatenated address of Christian-religious contents to be delivered in an unfettered style by the minister of the gospel at the public worship of the congregation, in the name and at the command of the Lord, with the explicit aim that the congregation be thereby edified, and the coming of the kingdom of God advanced." He develops these ideas, discusses the personality of the preacher, and then takes up Material. He rules out certain things from the material of preaching, such as political partisanry, needless doctrinal disputes, and various other inappropriate things. We must preach not ourselves, but the gospel. Our preaching must be thoroughly Biblical, though it should take account of times, seasons, and occasions. Regarding a particular sermon, he treats of the Text, Theme, Introduction, Divisions, Application and Conclusion. On Homiletics in regard to form, which of course is closely related to material, the author presents the general subject of Arrangement, Style and Delivery. With regard to Division (page 316) he says, "Clearly defined division, far from being an arbitrary demand, much less an intolerable yoke, is on the contrary the *conditio sine qua non* of the well-ordered and effective pulpit address." The style, he insists, should be clear, dignified and Biblical. With regard to delivery he has the usual good counsels. The opening sentence of the discussion (page 330) is as follows: "The Sermon thus carefully prepared ought naturally to be

spoken freely and with dignity; in such wise that neither the ear nor the eye of the hearer be hurt. But on the contrary, even the outward presentation be made, as far as possible, subservient to the great end of preaching."

In England,[1] during the early part of the nineteenth century, the works of Campbell and Blair, noticed in the preceding lecture, and the translations of Claude's *Essay on the Composition of a Sermon* were still widely read. In 1838 there appeared what Kidder calls "a voluminous expansion of Claude's *Essay*" in *The Preacher's Manual*, by Rev. S. T. Sturtevant. The book was later published in this country. It consists of more than six hundred closely printed pages, based somewhat on the teachings of Claude, but with much expansion, illustration, example and comment. It presents the accepted homiletical teachings, discussing the usual topics through thirty-two lectures and an appendix. Authors and readers in those days had plenty of time on their hands! In his preface the author says (page 6), "The design of this work is to assist those preachers who are destitute of better help in the preparation of *their own discourses,* to furnish them with the means of giving *an original cast to the divisions and discussion,* an object to which it is presumed the following pages are fully adequate, and thus to relieve them from the painful and

[1] For works on the History see my History of Preaching, II., p. 579f. Worthy of special mention are Ker's *Lectures on the History of Preaching,* and Blaikie's *The Preachers of Scotland,* etc.

mortifying necessity of adopting the outlines and skeletons of others, or of preaching printed discourses, which may be in the possession of some of their hearers, to the discredit of the preacher, thus convicted of delivering the sermons of another as his own." In carrying out this laudable purpose the author covers the ground from selection of text, theme, divisions and treatment to style and delivery. The book would not appeal to readers of our time, but no doubt served a useful purpose in its day.

A much better book for practical purposes is Gresley's *Treatise on Preaching,* which appeared in 1840. The author was a clergyman of the Church of England and his book was avowedly adapted principally to his brethren of that communion. Another limitation lies in the fact that in form the book is a series of letters addressed to a young clergyman. That was a kind of a literary fad which the good taste of modern times has rejected. Notwithstanding these and other defects, the treatise had value in its day, and remains a worthy contribution to the literature of Homiletics. It adopts the four general divisions of Matter, Style, Method (or Disposition), and Delivery. This arrangement is open to criticism, but the topics are presented in a clear, sensible and attractive way.

In 1868 the Rev. E. Paxton Hood published a series of lectures which had been given to the students of Spurgeon's Pastors' College under the

odd title *Lamps, Pitchers, and Trumpets.* These lectures were later expanded into two stout volumes, *The Throne of Eloquence,* and *The Vocation of the Preacher.* These works contain much that is of value on the subject of preaching—historical, illustrative and homiletical—but they are not formal treatises. Charles H. Spurgeon himself, the world-renowned pastor and preacher of London, published three short volumes under the title *Lectures to My Students.* Not by any means are these either in form or purpose treatises on Homiletics, but they are familiar talks to successive groups of students in the college of which Spurgeon was the founder and president. They grow out of the experiences and they express the genius of the great popular preacher. They are pleasant to read, full of practical suggestions, bubbling with quaint humor, but warm in devotion and strong in common sense. The other great London preacher of that age, Joseph Parker, published a little volume with the Latin title *Ad Clerum* (*To the Clergy*), which Broadus describes as "a lively and interesting little book, though not always judicious."

In 1881 was published the *Art of Preaching,* by the Rev. Henry Burgess. The book was meant chiefly for theological students and the younger clergy of the English Church. The author felt, as others have done before and since, that the subject of Homiletics had been too much neglected in his church. His book is an earnest and serious

one, unsuited for use as a textbook, but interesting, readable, and full of good counsel. There is a valuable introduction on the state of preaching in the Anglican Church at the time of writing. The first chapter is devoted to a consideration of the Moral Preparation for Sermon Writing, and the author begins with the fervent appeal for a deep and sincere spiritual life on the part of the preacher. In thirty-five chapters Burgess considers the familiar subjects of homiletical study: The selection and use of texts, introduction, division, conclusion, style, and delivery. The treatment is discursive and sometimes prolix. But the book marked a distinct advance in the consideration and treatment of Homiletics in the Church of England. In Scotland a valuable contribution to homiletical literature was made by Dr. W. Garden Blaikie in his *For the Work of the Ministry,* which treats briefly and with excellent judgment both Pastoral Duties and Homiletics. In Ireland the Catholic Church was represented by two good works in this field. They were written by Thomas J. Potter, a priest and professor at Dublin. One is entitled *Sacred Eloquence,* in which the chief subjects of Homiletics are presented with force and illustrated by many quotations from Catholic writers. The other is called *The Spoken Word,* and deals chiefly with delivery, advocating free speech after suitable preparation.

A number of notable British preachers have

been invited to deliver the *Yale Lectures* in this country, and their works are a very worthy part of that series. The lecturers have been R. W. Dale, James Stalker, A. M. Fairbairn, R. F. Horton, John Watson, George Adam Smith, John Brown, P. T. Forsyth, H. H. Henson, J. H. Jowett (then in New York), and C. Silvester Horne. In the main these volumes are not strictly homiletical, and not one of the course is in textbook form or adapted to teaching purposes. But the series as a whole is a remarkable, able, and sometimes brilliant discussion of modern pulpit problems and principles, as understood by men who are fully representative of the finest British culture and religious thinking of the age. Among the numerous writings of the Rev. F. B. Meyer, the veteran preacher, pastor and lecturer, is a brief but useful treatise on *Expository Preaching,* which contains much that is worth while on that important subject. A brief but thoughtful little work by the Bishop of Ripon, Dr. William Boyd Carpenter, *Lectures on Preaching,* appeared in 1895. It consists of six lectures before the Divinity School of the University of Cambridge with the titles: The Preacher Himself, The Training of the Preacher, The Sermon, The Structure of the Sermon, The Preacher and His Age, The Aim of the Preacher. The book abounds in wise counsel on these themes and is written in a very clear and attractive style.

It remains to notice two works by Dr. Alfred E.

Garvie, Principal of New College, London, of the Independent or Congregational body, and well known as a preacher, leader, teacher and writer. Dr. Garvie has contributed two valuable books to the literature of Homiletics. The first of these, *A Guide to Preachers,* appeared in 1906, and consists of a course of lectures originally given to a class of lay preachers, but afterwards expanded and published. The book is a very useful, practical, and judicious manual. The first section is on How to Study the Bible, with good advice on that subject. The second section discusses How to State the Gospel, and is full of wise counsel concerning the more important subjects to be dealt with in preaching. The third section is properly homiletical, and treats of the personality of the preacher and his preparation, choice and treatment of texts and subjects, gathering materials, choice of language, use of argument, and delivery. As to the last, Dr. Garvie condemns recitation from memory and leaves the preacher to choose between a free reading from manuscript or extemporaneous speaking after careful preparation, with personal preference for the latter. The fourth section is on How to Meet the Age, and contains a sane and thoughtful discussion of the principal and pressing religious problems of the day and their right treatment in the pulpit.

More recently Dr. Garvie has published a strong and attractive book entitled *The Christian Preacher.* It is a volume in the well-known In-

ternational Theological Library, and is worthy of a place in that collection of scholarly and able works. It is a more elaborate and complete discussion than the earlier book. After an introduction on the importance, the definition, and the characteristics of Christian preaching, the author proceeds to treat his subject in three main parts: The History of Preaching; the Credentials, Qualifications and Functions of the Preacher; the Preparation and the Production of the Sermon.

Dr. Garvie adopts with modification Phillips Brooks' famous definition of preaching as "the communication of truth through personality," but regards it as incomplete and modifies it to read "the communication of divine truth through human personality for eternal life." Dr. Garvie believes that the historical method is "the best approach to any subject," and that "the Christian preacher will be better equipped for his task today if he has some knowledge of how men have preached in former days." Accordingly, more than half of the book is given to a rapid and condensed, but valuable survey of the History of Preaching from the days of our Lord and the Apostles down to present times. In Part II the preacher himself is discussed, and much that is worth while is said about the preacher as apostle, prophet, scribe, scholar, sage, seer, saint, priest, teacher, pastor and evangelist. These terms, though exceptions may be taken to some of them, suggest the many and varied aspects of the preach-

er's character and work which must have a vital and important bearing on his preaching.

In Part III the Preparation and Production of the Sermon, Dr. Garvie reaches the more distinctly homiletical aspect of his general subject. In the introductory remarks about preparation, the author well says (pages 344-345): "All that makes the preacher also makes the sermon. The entire development of the personality as the channel of Truth may be said to belong to the preparation. As apostle, prophet and scribe the preacher is getting the content of his preaching. As scholar, sage, seer and saint he is fitting himself to convey the message he receives. As priest, teacher, pastor and evangelist he is fixing the forms of his preaching by its purposes. It seems necessary to lay stress on the preparation in the wider sense, as on that will depend the facility and the excellence of the preparation in the narrower sense. Each sermon should not in itself be an immense labor and crushing care to the preacher, who has constantly and diligently been making himself fit and ready for the task. It should be a free and happy exercise of powers that have been fully developed by a fruitful self-discipline. It should not be necessary for him to spend hours in trying to find a text; but he should be so familiar with the Scriptures that a multitude of texts should be at his command, and that these texts should suggest their treatment at once because he so thoroughly knows their contexts. It should not

be necessary for him to search high and low for material for his sermon; but he should be so much at home in Christian thought and life that he will have abundance to say worth hearing about doctrine and practice, principle and application alike. It should not be necessary for him to go in search of illustrations, but his reading and his experience alike should readily offer him the pictures through which the truth may shine. It should not be necessary for him to rack his brains to discover divisions or heads, but his logic should be keen enough, and his psychology subtle enough, to put him in the way of an arrangement that will be spontaneous and effective, and not arbitrary and futile. Many preachers find their preparation so painful and fruitless a toil, because they forget or neglect the fact that the stream cannot rise higher than its source; the poor personality will not produce the rich sermon. Here at the outset of the discussion all emphasis must be put again on the definition of preaching as *truth through personality.*"

To the familiar topics of homiletical instruction Dr. Garvie gives a fresh, vigorous and modern treatment. He refers to a number of other writers —especially Vinet, Christlieb and Hoyt—but the study and expression are his own. (One may be permitted to wonder why there is no quotation from Broadus' book, or even any discoverable reference to that great work.) The main lines of study, as conveyed by the chapter titles, are the

character of the sermon, the choice of subjects and text, the contents, arrangement, disposition, and delivery of the sermon. There must be earnest study in the gathering of material, careful attention to the tested principles of composition, including, of course, the cultivation of good style, and a delivery suitable to convey and impress the preacher's message.

Summary

Our survey of homiletical teaching in Europe since the beginning of the nineteenth century, hasty and imperfect as it has been, impresses us with several important facts.

1. Preaching has come to be recognized as, in the highest and best sense, a function or art, capable of scientific expression and treatment. The study of Homiletics is fully and decidedly established as a vital and necessary part of the preparation and practice of the modern preacher. If he would excel in his work, he must master his art, both in theory and in practice. At the same time he must recognize that, owing to its origin in a divine commission, and in its purpose to win and save men spiritually, it is more than an art, even a sacred vocation.

2. The history of Homiletics shows that the science is a natural development of certain fundamental principles of public speaking from the very beginning. This development implies the constant

application of these universal principles to changed conditions. False ideas and useless appendages in the treatment of Homiletics have been laid aside and the essentials of oratory as applied to preaching remain. As Aristotle long ago pointed out, the three essential things are the speaker, the hearer and the speech. In order that public speaking shall be effective there must be study of each of these elements, according as conditions require.

3. European Homiletics in modern times strongly and wisely insists upon a better interpretation and a more vivid and practical application of Scripture. Modern historical criticism and exegesis have forever discredited the fanciful, forced and often false interpretation, which was only too easily tolerated in days gone by. The Bible is still the living Word of God, and as such, its real teachings must be laid upon the minds, consciences, and social relations of the people of today.

4. Modern Homiletics has become less academic and more practical in tone and style. If it has lost something of scholarly dignity and severity, it has gained much of practical reality and effect through all modern discussions. The fundamental ancient principle persists: The object of the preacher is to inform the understanding, move the feelings, and influence the will of his hearers. The Latin formula adopted if not coined by Augustine remains: *Docere, movere, flectere.* The

preacher's whole study and practice of his divinely given art is to learn how he can best, for the greater glory of his Lord, do for his hearers these three things. As Garvie has expressed it, the object of the preacher's art is "to bring God in Christ to man, and man through Christ to God."

LECTURE VIII

MODERN HOMILETICS—AMERICA

In every phase of human thought and its effective literary expression we of the United States owe a vast debt of gratitude to Europe. We are indeed "the heir of all the ages," but we march "in the foremost files of time," and with no hesitant or cringing tread. If we owe much to others we have also achieved much ourselves. This is as true in the sphere of Homiletics as it is in other departments of education and literary production. The influence of European upon American Homiletics is recognized in the two obvious ways of original impulse and continued contact; but no more in Homiletics than in other lines of movement did this recognized and valued influence hinder the growth of a distinct, extensive and worthy body of homiletical teaching and writing peculiarly American and essentially sound, scientific and practical. In America as elsewhere and always, practice and theory reacted upon each other and out of these reactions has come a great and valuable product. Of necessity it did not come all at once, and very naturally it increased in volume and in value in the process of time. The contempt which certain German and English critics in the early part of the nineteenth century

felt or affected for American literary and scientific achievements is now only amusing, though at the time a certain boyish awkwardness and sensitiveness may be recognized in the American response to these strictures. The simple facts are that early American literature was comparatively little in volume and much of it was immature and poor, but there was a goodly portion which had in it the "promise and potency" of a fuller life that was rapidly coming into consciousness of power and getting ready to command world-wide recognition. This general trend of things is well exemplified in American preaching, both in practice and in theory. We are here concerned with the latter, the development of homiletical teaching and writing in the United States since the beginning of the nineteenth century. For reasons which will appear later on, a marked acceleration and improvement may be noted in this movement since about 1870, and it will therefore be proper to divide our treatment of the subject to correspond with this turning point in the course of events.

The Earlier Developments—up to 1870

After the publication of Cotton Mather's little book noted in a previous lecture, and itself of little value and limited circulation, there does not seem to have been in this country any homiletical work worth speaking of during the whole eighteenth century; but early in the nineteenth a start

was made, both in teaching Homiletics and in writing books on the subject. The movement gained in power through the century. No doubt the translations of Claude's *Essay,* together with other English publications, were used by some American divines and there was some homiletical study, traditional and literary, among the preachers. This at least laid a foundation for the fine developments which have followed.

The first thing to notice is the founding of the earliest of American theological seminaries at Andover, Massachusetts, in 1807. This parent institution included in its course of instruction the subject of Pulpit Oratory, as it was first called. Among the earliest donors of the seminary was a wealthy New England merchant named William Bartlet, in whose honor the chair was later named. The first professor was a Dr. Griffin, but he did not serve long. In 1811 Ebenezer Porter was appointed to the chair and its name was changed to that of Bartlet Professorship of Sacred Rhetoric. Dr. Porter served for twenty-three years, very acceptably and ably. He deserves high honor as the real beginner of homiletical instruction in theological seminaries in this country. In 1819 Dr. Porter published a book under the title *The Young Preacher's Manual.*[1] It is a collection of treatises on preaching, including with others of less value Fénélon's *Dialogues,* Claude's *Essay,* Reybaz on *The Art of Preaching.* Dr. Porter

[1] See Kidder's *Homiletics,* Appendix.

seems to have used this as the textbook, supplemented by lectures, for a number of years.

In 1834 Dr. Porter published his own volume on Homiletics with the title *Lectures on Homiletics and Preaching and on Public Prayer, Together With Sermons and Letters.* The book went through a number of editions and is still historically important and full of good and sound teaching on its subject. The opening words of the preface are well worth quoting:

"In entering on my labors as Bartlet Professor of Sacred Rhetoric in this Seminary I found the office to be in some respects a new one in the business of theological instruction. After an examination of many books that have been written on Rhetoric in general and the comparatively few that have been written on Sacred Rhetoric, it became manifest that I must be called to traverse a field to a considerable extent untrodden by any predecessor."

The book contains twenty-three lectures on Homiletics. Its most important topics are Choice of Texts and Subjects; Structure of Sermons; Exordium; Explication; Unity; Division; Argument; Conclusion; Style, with several lectures on the General Characteristics of Sermons. On the Exordium he remarks (page 86): "The one valuable purpose for which any public speaker can address an assembly is to make them understand and believe and feel the sentiments which he utters. The chief object of an introduction then is to secure

that attention which is most favorable to the attainment of this purpose; and the obstacles which prevent this favorable attention are commonly found in the *prejudice,* the *ignorance,* or the *indifference* of the hearers." To remove these is the main thing, and rules follow for the right kinds of introduction. There are good counsels on unity, divisions, and the conclusion. It is a sensible and clear discussion. The conclusion should recapitulate and enforce, but should not be too long and tedious. Style should be simple, serious, earnest. Its usual qualities are discussed. Good suggestions are made for practice. On the whole, Dr. Porter's treatise is a sound and sensible book, well adapted to the age in which it was published. It was in every way for American Homiletics a good start.

About 1830 Henry Ware, Jr., became Professor of Pulpit Eloquence and Pastoral Care at Harvard University. A few years later he published his little book *Hints on Extemporaneous Preaching.* It is a clearly written and very sensible treatise, giving cogent reasons for the practice of free delivery after careful preparation.

From now on the theological departments of colleges and the rapidly increasing theological seminaries all over the land included Homiletics or Sacred Rhetoric as an established and indispensable part of the curriculum. Sometimes it was made a department of Practical Theology or Pastoral Duties, and sometimes it was an in-

dependent subject. Yale College and the Princeton, Union, Newton, and other theological schools, all fell into line. In 1859 the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary was opened at Greenville, South Carolina, with John A. Broadus as Professor of the Preparation and Delivery of Sermons, in connection with his other chair of New Testament Interpretation. His plan for Homiletics as quoted by his biographer—Dr. A. T. Robertson[1]—was as follows:

"*Homiletics, or Preparation and Delivery of Sermons;* Ripley's *Sacred Rhetoric;* Vinet's *Homiletics;* numerous lectures; ample exercises in formation of skeletons, criticism of printed sermons, general composition, and discussion; opportunities for students to preach, but no preaching merely for practice."

We need not trace this line of development further. No seminary or department for ministerial training in any college could henceforth think of omitting Homiletics as a definite part of its course of study. Out of this has grown chiefly, but by no means wholly, the production of the noble body of homiletical literature which we may now with pardonable pride claim as distinctively American. A number of able and distinguished professors of Homiletics in the numerous and well-equipped schools for training preachers have put forth valuable treatises. many of which have become de-

[1] *Life and Letters of John A. Broadus,* by A. T. Robertson, p. 168.

servedly famous. Besides this many other authors have in various ways, by lectures and treatises and articles, given scholarly and practical attention to the subject. A slight survey of some of the most important of these works up to 1870 is all that can here be attempted.

In 1849 Professor Henry J. Ripley, Professor of Sacred Rhetoric and Pastoral Duties at the Newton Theological Institution, near Boston, published his *Sacred Rhetoric*. It is a brief and sensible, but not particularly able or fresh treatise. By permission there was published with it Henry Ware's little book previously noticed. This volume of Professor Ripley served as a textbook to Dr. Broadus and other teachers and besides that had a considerable circulation and usefulness among the ministers. In ten years it had reached its fourth edition.

In 1853 Dr. Thomas H. Skinner, Professor of Sacred Rhetoric and Pastoral Duties in Union Theological Seminary, New York, rendered a great service to the teaching of Homiletics in this country by his translation of Vinet's *Homiletics* noticed in the preceding lecture. This translation of Vinet was widely influential and became the basis of other textbooks. This was notably true in the case of Dr. Broadus, who in the first edition of his own book had many quotations from Vinet and rendered to him acknowledgment of indebtedness.

The accomplished professor and devoted pastor

and preacher, Dr. James W. Alexander, for a time taught along with other subjects that of Homiletics at Princeton Theological Seminary. The fruits of his reading, experience and thinking were given to the world after his death in a very attractive volume called *Thoughts on Preaching,* published in 1860. The editor states that "it had long been the cherished wish of Dr. Alexander to prepare a volume on Homiletics for which he had gathered much material in his journals." These were published in the volume named. Notwithstanding its somewhat disjointed state, the volume is full of interest and contains many valuable sayings in the way of criticism, suggestion and illustration.

A valuable and important work which appeared in 1864 is that of Dr. Daniel P. Kidder, Professor first at Garrett Theological Institute, Evanston, Illinois, and later at Drew Theological Seminary. The title of the book is *A Treatise on Homiletics.* The book had several editions. It treats (Chapter I) of the proper character of Homiletics as a science in its own right, because of its divine origin. Chapter II treats of the sources and material of homiletical science which are Biblical in origin and motive. Chapter III is especially valuable for its survey of the literature of Homiletics from the beginnings to modern times. This is supplemented in the Appendix by an excellent bibliography of which frequent use has been made in these lectures and to which deep indebtedness

is acknowledged. As a treatise the book covers the usual ground, discussing different kinds of preaching, themes and texts, preparation of sermons, arrangement, argument, the conclusion, qualities of the sermon, classification, style, delivery, elocution, habits of preparation, and some others. The work is not very well arranged and does not seem to have been very successful as a textbook, but it marks an advance in the treatment of the subject in America and is on the whole a very competent and worthy performance.

The year 1867 witnessed the appearance of treatises on Homiletics by two eminent and distinguished Presbyterian preachers and professors. The first of these was *Homiletics and Pastoral Theology* by Prof. W. G. T. Shedd of Union Theological Seminary, New York, in its first edition. It came to later editions and is one of the outstanding works on the subject. Concerning it Dr. Broadus makes this acute remark:[1]

"Shedd's *Homiletics and Pastoral Duties* is an excellent work. It discusses certain topics with the author's well-known power of analysis and vigor of statement. It is an admirable book to be read by those who are acquainted with the subject in general, or to be studied in connection with some systematic treatise." With this judgment I quite agree. The book is solid in matter, strong and clear in statement of the usual topics, but is badly arranged.

[1] *Preparation and Delivery of Sermons*, p. 547.

The other work is *Sacred Rhetoric* by R. L. Dabney, D.D., of the Union Theological Seminary of Virginia. The author wrote a notable biography of "Stonewall" Jackson and was in other ways a distinguished and very able man. His treatise on preaching is worthy of his abilities and fame and reached a third edition in 1881. It is a sound and vigorous discussion of the accepted principles of Homiletics.

The Chair of Homiletics in the Divinity School of Yale University was worthily and ably filled from 1861 to 1879 by Professor J. M. Hoppin, D.D. He published in 1869 his well-known book on the *Office and Work of the Christian Ministry.* This included both Homiletics and Pastoral Duties; but later the work was revised and published in two separate volumes—one under the simple title *Homiletics.* This is a work of great value in many ways. It is too large and comprehensive for a textbook, but gives a brief sketch of the history of preaching and deals with the rhetorical principles of preaching in a very competent and instructive way—Broadus says, "with marked ability and sound judgment." The book is an excellent one to study, as marking the turning point at which we have arrived in this survey of American Homiletics. It belongs both to the earlier and later periods which we have marked out. It shows how far we have come from the best attainments of the past and it introduces a richer and in some respects a more scientific treatment of the mod-

ern period in the history of Homiletics. In its survey of the history of preaching and the literature of Homiletics as fundamental to a better and larger grasp of the true theory of preaching, it strikes a high note. Its mastery and presentation of the topics of homiletical instruction are thorough. But its analysis and arrangement of these topics is peculiar and undesirable. A glance at its copious contents will reveal at once the excellences and defects indicated.

Giving a general introduction on the greatness of the preacher's work, Dr. Hoppin divides his treatment into two main parts: I. Homiletics Proper; II. Rhetoric Applied to Preaching. Here we see at once a want of clear distinction and the promise of repetition and overlapping. Under Homiletics Proper there is an introduction in which the literature of Homiletics and Rhetoric is surveyed and homiletical terms defined. Then comes the first division of this part which presents a brief but excellent sketch of the history of preaching. The second division expounds the object of preaching as being the instruction, persuasion and edification of the hearer. The third division considers the preacher's preparation for composing the sermon. And the fourth takes up analysis and composition of sermons with a discussion of the text, introduction, explanation, proposition, division, development and conclusion. The fifth division of the first part treats of the classification of sermons—(1) according to their treat-

ment and form and (2) according to their method of delivery—written, memoriter, and extempore. Part II (Rhetoric Applied to Preaching) consists of three divisions, the first presenting the General Principles of Rhetoric, the second Invention and the third Style. Several definitions of style are given and its qualities are discriminated as absolute and relative—or those which are universal (limited to language itself), and those which grow out of the relation of speaker to audience. This last consideration brings the author finally to discuss the qualities of purity, propriety, precision, perspicuity, energy and elegance. In range of topics, learning and depth of thought this book takes the highest rank and marks American homiletical scholarship as having attained to a maturity and strength of its own.

The Later Developments—Since 1870

The marking off of strictly defined historical periods is necessarily more or less artificial, for history is not a plot of ground to be staked off, but rather a flowing stream whose progress, direction, tributaries and volume are to be noted as it flows. Yet, every one knows that there occur certain crises in history when there is acceleration of movement; when new acquisitions are made in both character and power on the part of things already existing and striving to realize larger measures of life. Such a period is noted in the whole of American life since the Civil War of

1861-65. The New Era was one of immense quickening and extension of the forces of the national life—political, industrial, commercial, scientific, artistic and literary. All the departments of intellectual expression felt the drive of the age, and the increase in volume, range and excellence was manifest. This is as true for our subject of Homiletics as for all other branches of theological study and writing.

Several matters of importance are to be noted as belonging to and characterizing the general development of homiletical thought and product in the new time. The first of these is the continuance and extension of homiletical instruction in schools for the training of preachers. Seminaries and theological departments in colleges, as these were founded or enlarged, provided for instruction in preaching as one of the accepted and necessary courses. These courses varied in value and depended much both upon the atmosphere of the institutions and the personality of the professors; but it is fair to say that judging by results, both in the training of men and in the production of books, the teaching was generally sound and good. Always much is to be desired. The teaching was not universally good, and the results were always more or less disappointing. But on the whole the work was eminently worthwhile.

One thing to be noticed is the appearance of homiletical suggestion and instruction in periodical literature. There were journals of theology,

some of which were designed especially as homiletical helps. The chief one of these was *The Homiletic Review* which began in 1877 as the *Homiletic Monthly.* After a while the scope was enlarged and the name changed. This periodical has had a vast circulation. It has published sermons by distinguished men, outlines and homiletical suggestions of various sorts. Many preachers have found it very useful, but some others have not cared especially for it. Yet, on the whole, it has helped and taught thousands of preachers.

In this connection and before giving a general account of the literature of Homiletics proper it is right to say a few words about books on the vitally related subjects. Pastoral Theology is often treated in the books on Homiletics and in addition a few works are devoted especially to that subject. Among these is the work of Hoppin in the later editions, as already mentioned. Then there was a little book, *The Pastor,* by Dr. H. Harvey. The most notable of these perhaps is that of Dr. Washington Gladden on *The Christian Pastor,* a volume in the International Theological Library. Dr. T. H. Pattison and Dr. Arthur S. Hoyt, as well as several others, have issued works on this subject accompanying their works on Homiletics.

On the History of Preaching not a great deal has been done by American writers, but something. The subject has received attention in several of the books on Homiletics, notably in that of Hoppin. There is an attractive little volume by Dr. Flem-

ing James on *The Message and the Messengers.* In 1876 Dr. John A. Broadus published his *Lectures on the History of Preaching* which had been given at Newton Theological Institution. This was not intended to be a complete study of the subject and is somewhat fragmentary in its discussions: but it is a fine and stimulating little book, full of suggestion and comment, as well as information. There is also a later volume by Dr. T. H. Pattison, *A History of Christian Preaching,* which is brief and discriminating in thought and very readable and interesting in style. There is also a more extended work by this lecturer, which he begs pardon for mentioning, but has to do so for completeness. In addition to these Dr. W. C. Wilkinson has given to the subject a fine discussion of some great preachers in his *Modern Masters of Pulpit Discourse;* and a similar service has been performed by Dr. L. O. Brastow in *Representative Modern Preachers,* and *The Modern Pulpit.*

On social subjects there has of late been a flood of writings—articles and books. Many of the Yale Lectures, as will be noticed presently, discuss this part of the preacher's equipment for his task.

Some attention has been paid to psychology in relation to preaching. In 1901 a book by Dr. J. Spencer Kennard was published under the title *Psychic Power in Preaching.* Dr. Kennard was a well-known Baptist pastor and evangelist. He had long and deep interest in his subject. His treatment is based on the older psychology, but is

marked by clearness of thought and force of expression. He has a good discussion of the psychology of style, and all through his book insists upon the power of personality in preaching. In 1918 Dr. Charles S. Gardner, Professor of Homiletics in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary at Louisville, published his *Psychology and Preaching*. This able and thorough discussion is founded on the newer psychology. The thinking is deep, but usually clear. There are particularly fine discussions of Belief, Attention, Suggestion, Assemblies. The book is well worth the careful study of the modern preacher. It closes with an excellent chapter on *The Modern Mind*. It is a sane and careful book.

One of the most notable events in regard to our subject was the establishment of the *Yale Lectures on Preaching*. The following action was taken by the Corporation of Yale College, under date of April 12, 1871:[1] "Voted to accept the offer of Mr. Henry N. Sage of Brooklyn of the sum of Ten Thousand Dollars for the founding of a lectureship in the Theological Department in a branch of Pastoral Theology, to be designated *The Lyman Beecher Lectureship on Preaching*, to be filled from time to time upon the appointment of the Corporation by a minister of the Gospel of any evangelical denomination who has been markedly successful in the special work of the Christian

[1] See *A Voice from the Crowd*, by G. W. Pepper, Introductory Note.

ministry." With few exceptions this lectureship has been filled every year since its foundation by some prominent English or American preacher. Mr. George Wharton Pepper, a Philadelphia lawyer, has the distinction of being the only layman invited to give the lectures. His volume, *A Voice from the Crowd,* is useful, not only for its contents, but for an appendix which contains the full list of all the courses since the foundation of the lectureship.

The Yale Lectures have not been specifically homiletical. They have dealt rather more with the pastoral and social work of the preacher and with problems of thought and adjustment connected with his work. Only two of the series have been distinctly historical, those by Dr. W. M. Taylor on *The Scottish Pulpit* and by Dr. John Brown on *Puritan Preaching in England.* One lecturer, and that a very brilliant and delightful one, has used some of the greatest preachers in history as examples for the taking title of his work. The book meant is *The Romance of Preaching,* by Charles Silvester Horne. Dr. Trumbull gave a very valuable course on religious pedagogy in his *Teaching and Teachers.* A number of the volumes have dealt with the social and reformatory aspects of the preacher's work and duty. Of these we may name especially the two series by Dr. Washington Gladden—*Tools and the Man* (1886) and *Social Salvation* (1902); and those of Charles H. Parkhurst, Charles R. Brown and Henry Sloane

Coffin. Several of the series were not published. This was the case with those delivered by Dr. John A. Broadus in 1888. These were given extemporaneously from notes. Dr. Broadus pursued this plan on purpose to illustrate that the thing could be done. Another reason for not having them written out was that he desired to use some of the material in revising his *Preparation and Delivery of Sermons.* At the time of their delivery this series attracted large and interested audiences and some of the more important subjects have been retained and briefly discussed in the revised edition of the author's well-known book.[1]

This brings us back to our proper subject and also to a man and a book that now claim especial notice. In 1871 Dr. John A. Broadus, while Professor in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, then located at Greenville, South Carolina, published his now world-famous treatise on *The Preparation and Delivery of Sermons.* The story of its origin is related by the author himself in his *Life of James P. Boyce* (page 201). When the Seminary reopened after the Civil War the attendance of students was very small. In the class of Homiletics there was only one student and he was blind. But the undaunted professor adhered to his resolution to make his subject worthwhile, and as the brother could not take notes he gave his lectures to him in a conversational way, but covering with thoughtful care the main subjects of

[1] *Life and Letters,* p. 386.

homiletical discussion. In his own words, "The professor tried to lay out a somewhat complete course and give it to him in lectures to which the brother listened with unfailing manifestations of kindly interest." That was the origin of a book which was published five years later and has become the leading text-book on Homiletics in all the world. The success of the book was immediate. The author had to mortgage some property and borrow money for the making of the original plates. The first edition was published by Smith, English & Company of Philadelphia. The book paid for itself in a year or two. Some years later its publication was taken on by A. C. Armstrong & Son of New York, and by Hodder & Stoughton in London. It reached in this country nearly twenty editions before it was revised and at least as many since then. From the regular publishers alone, therefore, there have been nearly, if not quite, 40,000 copies printed. Besides this there was a pirated English edition under a slightly different title, before the laws of international copyright were well established. Moreover, the book has been translated into other languages and has had quite a wide use. Soon after the revised edition appeared the editor received a letter from a French missionary in North Africa requesting a copy, and near the same time an inquiry from a Scotchman who was trying to found missionary work in Chile. Within the last few months a letter has come from the head of a

Presbyterian college in New Zealand making inquiry concerning the continued publication of the work and stating the writer's conviction that it was the best of all books for teaching students the art of preaching. A number of gratifying and pleasing instances of appreciation are noticed in Dr. Robertson's *Life and Letters of John A. Broadus.* (See especially pages 254, 286 and 337.) Dr. W. C. Wilkinson, a very competent critic, describes it as "on the whole the best single treatise existing on its subject."

The contents and character of this notable book need detain us but a moment. After a thoughtful introduction, the general subject is discussed in five parts—The Materials of Preaching, Arrangement, Style, Delivery, and Public Worship. The last was added as a postscript to the treatment of the special homiletical topics. The Materials of Preaching especially studied are the Text, Subjects, Particular Occasions, then the General Materials—Explanation, Argument, Illustration and Application. The second part on the Arrangement of a Sermon discusses its importance, its several parts, and adds a chapter on the different kinds of sermons. Part third treats of Style, giving some general observations and especially discussing the qualities of style, Perspicuity, Energy and Elegance. To this is added a chapter on Imagination. Part four, The Delivery of Sermons, gives a decided preference to the method of free speech after careful preparation. Two of the chapters,

those on Voice and Action, as more properly belonging to the subject of Elocution, the author in his later years as Professor did not usually teach in his classes.

If we ask what has been the reason for the phenomenal success of this book, perhaps the readiest answer would be its admirable combination of scholarship and common sense. This was characteristic of the man. He learned and practiced all his life the principle of thinking with the cultured and talking to all people. The book shows an easy mastery of its theme. The literature of the subject from Aristotle down was laid under tribute; but there was plenty of individual thought and of freshness of statement concerning the accepted commonplaces of homiletical theory. In and through all the treatment there is unobtrusively present a spirit of reverence and devotion which makes itself felt.

Since the appearance of Dr. Broadus' book a great number of valuable practical works on Homiletics have been published in this country. Reverting to the Yale Lectures, a number of these are worthy of more extended notice than is possible within our limits. Some of the most important of the series have dealt with the modern problems of the preacher, as for example Fairbairn's *The Place of Christ in Modern Theology*, Gordon's *Ultimate Conceptions of Faith*, Van Dyke's *Gospel for an Age of Doubt* and Forsyth's *Positive Preaching and the Modern Mind*. Some have em-

phasized the ministerial character, as those by Tucker, Peabody, Faunce and others. Some have spoken chiefly of the preacher's church work, as Greer, Jefferson and others; but a number have addressed themselves especially to the homiletical aspects of the preacher's work and have treated of the art of preaching. Of these the two most important are the first series by Henry Ward Beecher and the *Lectures on Preaching* by Phillips Brooks. Beecher discussed preaching in his characteristic way and the result is a valuable and delightful book full of his own experience, and rich and suggestive on many points, though well open to criticism on some. Brooks' *Lectures* constitute one of the most successful and perhaps the most widely read of the Yale series. It is famous for its definition of preaching as "the communication of truth through personality." This was not intended as a complete definition, but is a vivid and vigorous statement of what the eminent preacher conceived to be the essential thing in preaching. It was what he himself in his noble ministry exemplified. The book is simply and delightfully written. Its clear style and earnest spirit make it one of the most pleasing and helpful volumes on this subject. Other notable volumes in the course are those of R. W. Dale, Matthew Simpson, John Watson, and others.

Going back to the general course of the production of books on Homiletics in this country, we should notice the very striking work of G. W. Her-

vey, *Christian Rhetoric,* which appeared about 1870. Of this work Hoppin says (page 3): "This author deserves notice as having produced an original work quite independent of Rudolph Stier in his *Keryktik* and Sikel in his *Halieutik,* but building up a system of Rhetoric on the Biblical side, infusing a new spirit into Sacred Rhetoric, and seeking for power to work upon the souls of men chiefly in the divine oracles, and by studying the methods of the prophetic and apostolic preachers. It is an interesting work, elaborate, but perhaps not too much so for practical use, and worthy of study." Broadus also [1] has a good word to say concerning this book. He thinks the author goes too far in claiming what he calls a "partial inspiration" for the modern preacher, but that he is quite right in urging dependence upon the help of the Holy Spirit in answer to prayer. My own opinion coincides with that of these eminent authorities. The book is hardly practical now as a text-book, but for thorough and earnest students of the subject of preaching it is full of interesting matter and suggestive teaching.

Another work of primary importance is *The Theory of Preaching* by Professor Austin Phelps, D.D., of Andover, which appeared in 1890. In the preface the author says: "Very soon after I began to lecture in the department I formed the habit of preserving manuscript notes of the inquiries of students in the lecture room and in pri-

[1] *Preparation and Delivery,* p. 547.

vate conversation. These notes soon grew upon my hands immensely. Answers to those inquiries constitute nine-tenths of this volume. The book discusses The Sermon in three lectures; The Text in four; The Explanation in five; The Introduction in four; The Proposition in six; The Division in four; The Development in two; and The Conclusion in eight. Concerning this work the criticism in Broadus' book (page 547) may be quoted: "The result is a unique volume, crowded with good thoughts and valuable hints; but it is not a complete or well-organized treatise. He spends too much time proportionately on some topics and wholly omits the consideration of others. Those who are already acquainted with the subject will find here very much that is fresh and useful. The style is clear, vivid and strong." Two later books by Professor Phelps serve to complete in a way his general discussion. These are *Men and Books*, and *English Style in Public Discourse*.

In recent times the number of books about preaching, more or less strictly homiletical in character, has been poured forth in an ever increasing stream. Most of these works are able and worth careful study. It is manifestly impossible even to mention them all, much less to devote any further time to an analysis of their contents. Let it suffice to name only a few of the most important.

Dr. J. A. Kern, Professor first at Randolph-Macon College in Virginia and later at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, published in 1897 a very ex-

cellent and valuable book on *The Ministry to the Congregation.* Dr. T. Harwood Pattison, Professor of Homiletics at Rochester Seminary, New York, produced several works on preaching, including one on *The Making of the Sermon.* These volumes are sensible, scholarly and practically useful. In 1907 there was published from the pen of Dr. Herrick Johnson, Professor first at Auburn and then at McCormick Seminary, a very suggestive and helpful volume on *The Ideal Ministry.* More lately Dr. Arthur S. Hoyt, Professor of Homiletics at Auburn Seminary, has published two works—one called *The Work of Preaching* and the other *Vital Elements in Preaching.* These practical and thoroughly modern books are written in concise and clear style and have been widely read, as they deserve to be.

From two eminent New York pastors there have recently come lectures on preaching which have been published in book form. One is by the venerable and wise Dr. D. J. Burrell, who gave a series of lectures at the Union Theological Seminary of Virginia on *The Sermon.* As was to be expected the treatment is judicious, strong and spiritual, drawn from the study, observation and practice of many years. The other book is a similar series of lectures, given at several different institutions and then published, by Dr. S. Parkes Cadman under the title *Ambassadors of God.* The lectures cover various aspects of preaching, historical, Scriptural, social, and are only slightly homiletical. They

are elevated in style, show wide reading with thought abreast of the age, and urging with eloquence and power the preaching of the saving gospel in Christ.

Concluding Reflections

Our long survey of the development of the art or theory of preaching would be in vain unless it left us with some definite idea of how the great function of preaching the gospel should be suitably discharged. We may perhaps gather up in a brief and practical form the main lessons of our study somewhat as follows:

(1) Preaching is, as it has been from the beginning, an essential part of the Christian religion. It means evangelization, the proclaiming and urging of the good news of salvation from sin through Jesus Christ as Saviour and Lord; and the instruction and edification of believers in Christian doctrine and duty. With this essential content, preaching rests for its authority upon the Holy Scriptures as the Word of God, in which the gospel of His grace in Christ and the life growing out of its right acceptance are included and unfolded. Preaching, therefore, remains essentially the same as it was in the early Christian centuries, an exposition and enforcement of the Word of God. Preaching also is an established and accepted element in the public worship of God. The services of the churches include a discourse based on the things that have just been said addressed

to the worshipers and any others who may be in attendance. This conception of preaching in its fullness remains as it has stood out through all the Christian centuries, a definite and integral part of the ongoing and constant manifestation of the Kingdom of God on earth.

(2) Regarding preaching in the highest sense as an art, that is, as a function of the human individual which may be learned and improved by study and practice, we find that the fundamental things in that art are practically the same through all time. The constant problem of the preacher, if he has mastered the technic of his art, is to adapt these essential and abiding principles to the habits of thought of his own age and to the particular needs of his own congregation. Hence, the teaching and study of the art of preaching, in other words, Homiletics, abides an essential in the proper training of the Christian minister. Just here it is apposite to remark that the *Literary Digest* in a recent number has a brief article with the heading *How Not to Train Preachers.* The article opens with the words, "Pulpit power is one of the most pressing needs of the clergyman of to-day." The article then mentions that the Boston *Transcript,* one of the great dailies of our time, criticizes the instruction offered to preachers in summer schools and mentions some of the topics which are taught in those schools to the exclusion or disparagement of homiletical teaching. The Boston paper is then quoted as follows:

"Whether we like it or not, the pulpit to-day is in a severer competition with rivals than ever before in Christian history. Concerts, magazines, newspapers, automobiles, outdoor sports, moving-pictures and many other attractions decimate the church congregations. And the preacher, while he may urge duty as the ground of church attendance, owes it to his people and to his own ordination vows to learn how to present his message in the most attractive and persuasive and compelling way of which he is capable.

"The teaching of pulpit address and homiletical power is far more difficult than instruction in ecclesiastical history or applied ethics. But it should be taught. Somehow, probably by the most practical and detailed kind of 'laboratory method,' of actual demonstration sessions, should the best methods of preaching be imparted and the efficacy of our preachers be increased. The sermon, in its preparation and delivery, is far the most important instrument at the minister's command. Therefore any summer school or winter school or divinity school which aims at preparing devout young men to enter the ministry or helping working-ministers to greater efficiency should give a large place to the instruction, the development, of the minister as preacher."

(3) It remains to speak a closing word upon our personal duty as preachers to acquire and use the best art in the discharge of our great office. We must, of course, avoid everything that is merely

artificial. True art is not artifice. If our survey of homiletical teaching has not taught this it has not taught us anything. True art is to know how to do best the thing that is to be done. That a preacher should be a good preacher, yes, the very best preacher that he can be, is self-evident. No workman in any art or craft can be excused who does not know how to do his work. It must be the preacher's constant aim, as it sometimes is his most disheartening problem, to preach in the way and with the impression best possible to himself. Paul said to Timothy, "Take heed to thyself and to thy teaching." This was anticipating in the reverse order the famous saying of Phillips Brooks that preaching is communication of truth through personality. As a definition that phrase needs filling out, but it is essentially correct. The personality of the preacher must be his care. He must himself be fit—in soul, in experience, in mind, in heart, in habits, in endeavors,—and then he must be careful as to the content and form of his message. He must seek from every source the truth of God and in his public ministration as an ambassador of God to men he must find the most suitable and effective means of making his truth known and fruitful in the lives of his fellowmen. And after all his study and prayer he must ever keep in mind the great principle of Paul, the apostle, that his speech and his preaching must not be in the persuasive words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power.

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